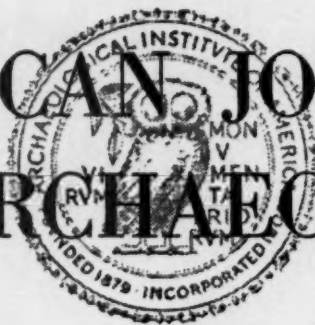


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SOME INSCRIPTIONS ON VASES: VI

SIR JOHN BEAZLEY

PLATES 28-31

I

Agora P10507, a small, fine fragment (perhaps of an amphora) published by Vanderpool in *Hesperia* 15 pl. 23, 2-3, shows head and left arm of a youth, is by the KX Painter, and belongs to the second quarter of the sixth century. The inscription $\eta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\bullet\bullet\bullet$ has been tentatively restored as $\eta\epsilon\kappa\alpha[\epsilon\rho\lambda\omicron\sigma]$ (*ibid.* pp. 133-134), but another proposal may perhaps be worth making, $\eta\epsilon\kappa\alpha[\delta\epsilon\mu\omicron\sigma]$. This would be our only likeness of a hero whom many of us have reason to honour. Unfortunately the little of the picture that remains is not easy to explain. The youth wears a chiton, and seems to hold out his mantle with his left hand.

II¹

Agora P10203, a fragment of a black-figured cup, or perhaps a skyphos, Attic from the second quarter of the sixth century, bears the signature of a potter, $\dots\omicron\lambda\epsilon\alpha\varsigma\epsilon\pi[\omicron\iota\epsilon\iota]$ (Vanderpool in *Hesperia* 15 pl. 22, 4). May the name not be [Ps]ōleas? $\Psi\omega\lambda\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ is the name of a satyr on the aryballos with the signature of the potter Nearchos in New York (26.49: *AJA* [1932] pls. 10-11 and p. 273): but that is a different matter. The rules for the formation of proper names in $-\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\varsigma$ from adjectives are not clear to me, but they do not appear to have been very strict, and, in the formation of names that were originally nicknames, analogy — false analogy — plays a specially great part. $\Psi\omega\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\varsigma$ to $\psi\omega\lambda\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ as $\Phi\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\varsigma$ to $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$? Compare Ὀνεῖται and Χοιρεῖται , formed by Kleisthenes of Sicyon from $\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ and $\chi\acute{o}\iota\rho\omicron\varsigma$ (Hdt. 5, 68)?

¹ In all the following the *alphas* and *lambdas* have the form with slanting bar; the *sigmas* are three-barred.

III

The Attic black-figured hydria Vienna 3613 (ex Oesterreichisches Museum 220: Masner p. 23, whence *JDAI* 41 p. 188) still belongs to the second quarter of the sixth century, and is near the Tyrrhenian Group: the hydria Louvre E869 resembles it and should be by the same hand (Pottier pl. 60; *CVA* d pl. 12, 1 and 3 and pl. 13; *AM* 56 Beilage 46, 2). It often happens in Tyrrhenian vases that while the inscriptions on one part of the vase make sense, those on another part do not. And so in the Vienna hydria: the inscriptions in the minor picture, on the shoulder, are meaningless; but those in the major picture, on the body, show that the chief person, the man in the frontal chariot, is Diomedes; the women presenting him with wreaths, Archippe and Eumelia (a martial name answering to the Homeric epithet $\epsilon\upsilon\mu\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma$); and the man on the left, Amphilochoi. So much has long been recognised: but the fifth person, the man on the right of the picture who corresponds to Amphilochoi on the left, has not been identified. Yet the inscription to the left of Eumelia's legs must be meant for his name — there was no room for it closer to him — and $\kappa\lambda\iota\pi\omicron\varsigma$ should be either $\kappa(\alpha)\lambda\iota\pi\omicron\varsigma$ for $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\iota\pi\omicron\varsigma$, or more probably $\kappa\lambda(\epsilon)\iota\pi\omicron\varsigma$ for $\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\iota\pi\omicron\varsigma$. Superfluous to quote parallels, but here is $\kappa\lambda\iota\pi\pi\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\varsigma$ for $\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\iota\pi\pi\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$ on Attic ostraka cited by Schwyzer (*Gr. Grammatik* i p. 87) from his *D.G.E.* p. 384.

IV

The black-figured lekythos (pl. 28, fig. 1) is in the Basle market, and I owe photographs, with permission to publish them, to the kind-

ness of Dr. Herbert Cahn. On the body, a naked youth on horseback is preceded by another youth who must be looking round at him, and followed by a woman and a third youth. In front of them a fourth youth, fully clad, looks on. On the shoulder, a siren between two yawning lions. The date is not late in the third quarter of the sixth century, and the style of the drawing shows that the artist is the Taleides Painter. Taleides, when he signs, signs as potter; but at least six of the nine signed vases were decorated by one artist, whom we call the Taleides Painter: see *JHS* 52, pp. 197-199, p. 171, and p. 193; Haspels *Attic Black-figured Lekythoi* p. 33; Dietrich von Bothmer and M. J. Milne in *Bull. Metr. Mus.* May 1947 pp. 221-228. This is his seventh lekythos: the others are Eleusis 961; Oxford G571 (*CVA* pl. 3, 27: attributed by Miss Haspels); Villa Giulia M.556 (Mingazzini *Vasi Cast.* pl. 86, 1 and 8, pl. 87, 6, and pl. 88, 3); Syracuse 8276 (Haspels *ABL.* pl. 14, 1); and two in the collection of Miss Winifred Lamb at Borden Wood, one of them published by Miss Haspels (*ABL.* pl. 13, 1), the other, a fragment, mentioned by her on her p. 38. In shape, ours goes with the lekythoi in Eleusis and Villa Giulia, and the better preserved of Miss Lamb's two vases.

It is on stylistic grounds that we ascribe the Basle lekythos to the Taleides Painter. Turning it round, we find the name of Taleides on the back of the vase: ΤΑΛΕΙΔΟΕΙΜΙ is written there in black glaze-paint. But, first, Taleides, as was said, is only known to us as a potter, and the presence of a potter's signature does not tell us who painted the vase. And, secondly, is this a signature at all? Signatures in the form of the artist's name in the genitive and nothing else (where the word *ἔργον* or the like may be supplied), are known to us from small works of art — coins and gems — where space is extremely limited: but there are no examples in sculpture or pottery. The addition of the verb *εἰμί* does not make a signature more likely.

Τοῦ Παρίον ποίημα Κριτωνίδου εἶχεται εἶναι is inscribed on an archaic statue-pedestal in Pesaro (Löwy *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer* p. 9): but Kritonides has added a noun, ποίημα. The most natural translation of Ταλίδου εἰμί is 'I belong to Taleides'; and one must ask if this

is not a lekythion that Taleides earmarked for himself, in the pottery, before firing, and subsequently owned and used.

There is one other vase with a somewhat similar inscription in glaze-paint: a fragment of a black-figured neck-amphora in Eleusis (earlier than our lekythos) has a verse written on the topside of the mouth:

ΚΛΕΙΜΑΧΟΣ Μ'ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕ ΚΕΙΜΙ ΚΕΙΝΟΝ

That is, as Pollak saw (*AEM* [1895] p. 22)

Κλείμαχος μ'εποίησε κείμι κείνον.

The publications (*Ephem* [1888] pl. 12, 1, whence Pfuhl fig. 210 and Hoppin p. 143, right only) do not give the fragment with the last letters of the inscription. On the potter see *BSA* 52 p. 172, note 16.

The Taleides vase was found in Greece, in Athens it is said, but nothing definite is known about the circumstances of discovery.

Additions may be made to the works that have been attributed to the Taleides Painter above or previously. The most important are three full-sized hydriai in the Louvre, F39 and F38, both of which bear the signature of the potter Timagoras, and a third, with Herakles and Triton on the body, Theseus and Minotaur on the shoulder, and the kalos-name Ti(m)okleides: it stands between F39, which is very early, and F38. The oinochoe Madrid 10932 (L.55: *CVA* pl. 2, 4), much restored, is also by our artist. Lastly, the new lekythos enables us to ascribe a "horseman amphora" (see *Development* pp. 39-40) to the Taleides Painter: Villa Giulia 15538 (*CVA* pl. 2, 2 and 5; A, phot. Alinari 41153).

V

The chief picture on the black-figured hydria Boston 01.8058, which is related to the Lysipides Painter, represents Herakles and Triton. Besides the three kalos-names, Elparetos, Chioros, and Mnesilla (see *AJA* [1941] 58-59), there are two other inscriptions. One of them, ΚΑΛΟΣ, may refer to Herakles, and the other, ΑΜΟΟΕ, should be the name of the fleeing Nereid, Am(phi)thoe (*Il.* 18, 42).

VI

Munich 1712A (Jahn 142), a black-figured

hydria by the A. D. Painter (*JHS* 72 p. 157, left middle), represents an orchard, with women picking fruit (pl. 31, fig. 2, by kind permission of Dr. Reinhard Lullies). They are all named. Five of the seven names are clear, ΦΙΛΤΟ, ΡΟΔΕ, ΣΙΜΥΛ[Ε], ΤΥΝΙΣ (= Τυννίς), and, retr., ΚΟΡΙΝΟ (= Κοριννύ), to which ΚΑΛΕ is added. The remaining names are difficult, ΚΑΦΣΙΣ and ΚΕΡΕΝΣ, and I refrain from speculation. Jahn suggested Κοριννίς for the second, but the letter after the *kappa* seems to be *epsilon* rather than *omikron*.

Τυννός is Doric for μικρός. Attic, however, has τυννοῦτος and τυννουτοσί: this may be a borrowing from another dialect; it is at least equally possible, however, that τυννός was originally current in Attica as elsewhere, but almost died out, surviving only in one or two expressions. Our Τυννίς may be an alien, but, again, proper names are conservative, and in Attica the old vocable may have survived not only in τυννοῦτος, but also as a woman's name. Corresponding masculine names are known from Attica: the gravestone of a fourth-century Athenian, Tynnias son of Tynnon, Τρικορνύσιος, is preserved (Conze pl. 118, no. 617; Diepolder *Die attischen Grabreliefs* pl. 29).

VII

In the comical picture of a sacrifice on a red-figured cup by the Ambrosios Painter in Würzburg (474; Langlotz pl. 143; our plate 29, fig. 3, and, part, our plate 30, fig. 4: *ARV.* p. 71 no. 6) there are four inscriptions. Of the three persons on the left, two are named, Ly[sis]tratos and Kallias. On the right, to quote Langlotz, "a youth pours a libation from a kantharos; an old man stands behind him and takes part in the sacrifice with the cry Α...ΕΟΝΚΑΙΔΕΥΡΟ." But the youth's head separates the *kappa* from the *nu*, and if one looks at the position of the letters it seems more natural to suppose two inscriptions than one, Α...ΕΟΝ pertaining to the youth and the rest to the old man.

ΚΑΙ[Δ]ΕΥΡ should be καὶ δεῦρ(ο), as already suggested by Braun, although the final *omikron* was never written; the writer reached the old man's wrist too soon and pulled up.

I was anxious to know whether the frag-

mentary inscription in front of the youth might not be restored as ΚΑΛΟΟΕΟΝ, ΚΑΛΕΘΕΟΝ, (καλῶ θεόν, κάλει θεόν) or something of the sort, which would be a cue for the old man's cry καὶ δεῦρ. As my notes were imperfect, I requested Prof. Möbius to examine the cup, which he kindly did. He reports that Langlotz's reading, as was to be expected, is exact: Α...ΕΟΝ with space for four letters in the gap. (Ninety per cent probability for *alpha*; certainly not *kappa*.) "This," he adds, "is surely the name of the youth, for example Α[νακρ]εον, although that is hardly suitable for a young man. καὶ δεῦρ(ο) is the cry of the old man, which, accompanied by a lively gesture, no doubt means that he too wishes to take some of the δλαί, groats, from the basket held by Lysistratos."

I am in agreement with Prof. Möbius; and Α[ΝΤΙΛ]ΕΟΝ suggests itself as the name of the youth. It had occurred to me that what the old man wants to come "his way too" might be not the contents of the basket, but the blessings, τὰγαθά, prayed for at the sacrifice: and this may perhaps be retained as an alternative explanation.

In fairness, any such supplement as 'Α[ντλ]έων should be scrutinized in the light of the old drawing made for Gerhard while the vase was still in Italy, and published by Klein in the first edition of his *Lieblingsinschriften*, p. 38, but suppressed in the second (pl. 29, fig. 3). It registers no gap between the altar and the youth with the kantharos, and gives the inscription complete, ΑΜΟΕΟΝ. Now the Würzburg cup has certainly suffered since the drawing was made. Gerhard's draughtsman had at least one small fragment before him which is not to be seen in the photograph published by Langlotz: the fragment which has the head of Dionysos' donkey, the right hand and forearm of the satyr Eukrates, and the upper part of his kantharos. This is clear enough on stylistic grounds, but there is further proof: the piece itself was among the Campana fragments in the Louvre, under the number S 1366. It has now been presented to the Würzburg collection by the Louvre, and the new photograph sent me by Prof. Möbius and reproduced in plate 30, fig. 4 shows it in place.

But not all the morsels given in the drawing

and missing in the cup are ancient. Two of them are indicated as modern in the drawing itself; but these are not all: the middle of the warrior inside the cup is modern. One argument is enough: his corslet begins as a leather corslet but ends as a bronze one, which happens in modern art, but not in ancient. The fact is that each of the pieces additional in the drawing must be judged on its own merits. In our piece the limp drawing of the hand points to it being modern. I am therefore inclined to reject the letters above it, and to suppose that Gerhard's draughtsman had no more of the inscription than we have, the letters A...EON. Inside the cup, too, he did not scruple to complete the fragmentary inscription on the shield.

VIII

A large cup by Douris in the Louvre, recently put together from many fragments, has, inside, a scene from the symposion — a man reclining, and a boy cup-bearer; outside, Herakles and the Lion on one half, on the other, Herakles and the Bull. There are two inscriptions inside: +ΑΙΡΕΞ[Τ]Ρ[Α]ΤΟΣΚΑ[ΛΟΣ], as on many vases by Douris; and, in the exergue, one not found elsewhere, ΚΑΛΙΜΑ+[ΟΣ] with ΚΑΛΟ[Σ] below it.

IX

Villa Giulia 50329 (pl. 30, fig. 5, after *BdA* 7 [1927] 320, fig. 24) is a fragment of a rhyton or kantharos, probably a rhyton. It shows the

upper part of a man reclining, and singing, in the well-known attitude with the right hand grasping the back of the head near the nape (see *Studies in Honor of D. M. Robinson* ii p. 75). The date is not far from 460, and the artist is the Tarquinia Painter (*ARV.* pp. 569-571 and 962): compare especially his symposion cup in the collection of Dr. Kaeppli at Meggen in Switzerland, and another symposion cup very like it, Aberdeen 748.

What is the man singing? Cultrera, who published the fragment, does not mention the inscription, although the first three letters, ΣΟΙ retrograde, issuing from the mouth, are plainly visible even in the reproduction. I have never seen the fragment, but Dr. Christoph Clairmont has kindly examined it for me, and he reports the letters as ΣΟΙΚΑΙΕΜ..., retrograde. This cannot be anything but σοὶ καὶ ἐμ[οί], whether the painter wrote anything further, or, as is likely enough, stopped at that point. Σοὶ καὶ ἐμοί is a phrase that might occur in many a poem of amorous content, but it is natural to look among the Theognidea, since on two other vases the words of the song are in all probability taken thence.

Theognis 1055:

Ἄλλὰ λόγον μὲν τοῦτον ἔασομεν, αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ σὺ
αὔλει, καὶ Μουσῶν μνησέμεθ' ἀμφότεροι.
αὐταὶ γὰρ τάδ' ἔδωκαν ἔχειν κεχαρισμένα δῶρα
σοὶ καὶ ἐμοί, μελέμεν δ' ἀμφιπερικτίουσιν.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY

THE SAINT-VALENTIN VASES

SEYMOUR HOWARD AND FRANKLIN P. JOHNSON

PLATES 32-34

THE Saint-Valentin class received its name and a short description from Sir John Beazley (*EtrVP*, p. 219, note 1), who also cited the principal earlier discussions: Zahn in Déchelette, *Collection Millon*, p. 131; Jacobsthal-Langsdorff, *Die Bronzeschnabelkannen*, p. 62; Haspels, *Attic Black-figured Lekythoi*, pp. 183-185. Briefly, the class consists of pattern vases, chiefly beakers or sessile kantharoi and skyphoi, certainly or possibly Attic, using applied white but not applied red. In the present paper we arrange and examine the vases as far as possible. It may be that some of our pieces would not be included by Beazley under his caption.

The catalogue is divided into Groups I-IX and A-C. Each of the numbered groups comprises pieces that have the same, or nearly the same, scheme of ornament. The lettered groups are a miscellany, divided according to form. We owe thanks to Mme. Rosanna Pincelli of the Museo Civico in Bologna, to Miss Hazel Palmer of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, to the Art Institute of Chicago, and to the Classics Department, University of Illinois, for the photographs that accompany the paper.

The catalogue is certainly far from complete. It is stated that about a hundred fragments of "Rautenbecher" were found at the Theban Kabeirion (Wolters-Bruns, pp. 87f.); it is naturally impossible to say how many vases these would represent, or how they would be distributed among Groups I, III, IV, or others. Fragments of the feather patterns were also found there (*AM* [1888] 415; apparently not mentioned in Wolters-Bruns), concerning which there is the same uncertainty. In publishing the Leningrad skyphos mentioned *infra*, p. 201, Stephani said that nos. 994 and 998 (skyphoi) and 1004 and 1005 (kantharoi) in the Hermitage had similar diamond patterns, and that kantharoi 995, 1002, and 1003 had patterns that

were less similar. It may be conjectured that most of these patterns would be closer to our standard types than those on the published skyphos.

The dimensions given are usually taken from the publications cited, but for the newly photographed pieces in Bologna we use the dimensions that accompanied the photographs, which were made by Mr. Augusto Stanzani.

GROUP I

Kantharoi

1. Munich 2572; *CVA* fasc. 2, pl. 94, no. 3; Lau, *Vasen*, pl. 44, nos. 3, 3a. Ht. 0.117.
2. Athens, Acropolis; Graef-Langlotz, pl. 41, no. 547, p. 49. Fragment.
3. Syracuse; *ML* xiv, p. 916, fig. 113. Fragment. From Camarina.
4. Speyer, from Rodenbach; Jacobsthal-Langsdorff, pp. 25, 62, pl. 40, a; Déchelette, *Millon*, pp. 126f., fig. 19; Ebert, *Reallexikon*, xi, 150. Ht. 0.122.
5. Rhodes 12146; *CVA* fasc. 2, III I c, pl. 8, no. 4; *Clara Rhodos* iv, p. 60, fig. 37. Ht. 0.115, diam. 0.12. From Kameiros.
6. Bologna 554; Pellegrini, *Cat. d. Vasi Dipinti Greci delle Necropoli Felsinee*, p. 221; Brizio, *Mus. It.* II, p. 27, grave 103, no. 5. Ht. 0.118, diam. 0.12. From De Luca graves. (Pl. 32, fig. 2)
7. Bologna 553; Pellegrini, *VF*, p. 221; Brizio, *Mus. It.* II, p. 27, grave 103, no. 4. Ht. 0.115, diam. 0.125. From De Luca graves. (Pl. 32, fig. 5)
8. Bologna 552; Pellegrini, *VF*, p. 221; Zannoni, *Certosa*, p. 248, pl. 69, nos. 8, 15; Déchelette, *Millon*, p. 131, fig. 20. Ht. 0.12, diam. 0.125. From the Certosa.
9. Bonn 159; *CVA* fasc. 1, pl. 23, no. 5. Ht. 0.12.

In each of these kantharoi, there is a tongue pattern on the rim, then a diamond pattern, then a narrow ivy, then a feather pattern, then

another tongue pattern. In some cases, at least, there is a horizontal line on the lower part; this line is incised in no. 1, white in no. 9; in no. 5 it is said to be incised with white filling; in the others it is lost or unknown.

Nos. 1-3, with short tongues on the rim and fully denaturalized ivy, are surely by one man. Nos. 4-6 are likewise by one man, and the tongues on the rim indicate that the man is the same as in the first three; though the ivy of no. 4 appears, from the slight traces visible in the illustration, to be different from that in nos. 1-3, and the drift in the diamonds of nos. 4-6 constitutes another difference. In no. 7 the drift is still more marked and the tongues seem to be different, as they certainly are in nos. 8-9. In no. 8, as known from Zannoni's detailed drawing, the feathers are unusually tall and pointed; and in no. 9 all features, including ivy and shape, tend to isolate it. Thus each of the last three stands alone.

GROUP II

Kantharoi

1. Munich 2570; *CVA* fasc. 2, pl. 94, no. 4. Ht. 0.09.
2. Millon Collection; Déchelette, *Millon*, pp. 105, 126, pl. 31. Ht. 0.11. From La Motte Saint-Valentin.
3. Bologna 549; Pellegrini, *VF*, pp. 220-221, fig. 137; Brizio, *Mus. It.* II, p. 17, grave 54, no. 2. Ht. 0.115. From the De Luca graves.
4. Bologna 550; Pellegrini, *VF*, p. 221. Ht. 0.105. From the Giardino Margherita. (Pl. 32, fig. 3)
5. Vienna 494; Masner, p. 70, pl. 8; *CVA*, Kunsthistorisches Museum fasc. 1, pl. 46, no. 5. Ht. 0.105.
6. Würzburg 620; Langlotz, p. 120, pl. 216. Ht. 0.114.
7. Berlin 2741; Furtwängler, p. 783. Ht. 0.12. Known only from description.
8. Bologna 551; Pellegrini, *VF*, p. 221. Ht. 0.109. From the Giardino Margherita. (Pl. 32, fig. 7)

Skyphos

9. Jerusalem 2348; *QDAP* II, p. 24, pl. 9, a 4. Fragment. From Tell Jemmeh.

Form doubtful

10. Athens, Acropolis; Graef-Langlotz, p. 49, no. 548. Fragment. Known only from description.

In each of the kantharoi 1-6, there is a tongue pattern on the rim, then a broad feather pattern, then a narrow ivy, then another tongue pattern. The description indicates the same scheme for II 7. II 8 lacks the ivy. II 9 is certainly from a skyphos, with part of the base; above it ivy, above that a feather pattern; a reserved palmette below the handle. II 10 is described as having white ivy and a feather pattern. The kantharoi 2-3, 5-6 have a fine horizontal line on the lower part, which is incised in 6 and doubtless in the others.

II 8, being misshapen and ill preserved, cannot be well compared with the others, but II 1-6 show little variation in form. II 1 and II 2 are surely painted by the same hand, with the club-shaped tongues on the rim noticeable and the painting done with considerable care. II 6 differs most widely from these in its rough tongues, which are most closely approached in II 4; II 3 and II 5 are better. However, II 5 and II 6 are bound together by the ivy, with leaves that seem to be transitional between the neat triangular form and the mere dots. In most pieces the ivy is lost; in II 9 it is somewhat closer to the triangular form than in II 5-6; in II 1 it appears, from the traces visible in the illustration, not to be very unlike those three.

On the whole it seems likely that II 1-6 are all made and decorated by one man, very possibly II 8 and II 9 also. II 1-2 would reasonably be supposed the earliest, II 6 the latest.

GROUP III

Kantharoi

1. Munich 2579; *CVA* fasc. 2, pl. 94, no. 1. Ht. 0.111. Said to be from Rhodes.
2. Brussels A 3100; *CVA* fasc. 3, pl. 133 (III I e, pl. 4), no. 3. Ht. 0.11, diam. 0.117.
3. Bologna 555; Pellegrini, *VF*, p. 221; Brizio, *Mus. It.* II, p. 8, grave 21, no. 2. Ht. 0.112, diam. 0.115. From the De Luca graves. (Pl. 32, fig. 4)
4. Bologna 556; Pellegrini, *VF*, p. 221; Brizio, *Mus. It.* II, p. 16, grave 50, no. 2. Ht. 0.115, diam. 0.11. From the De Luca graves. (Pl. 33, fig. 9)
5. Bologna 557; Pellegrini, *VF*, p. 221. Ht. 0.11, diam. 0.11. From the Arnoaldi graves. Stanzani photograph.

6. British Museum 1250; *CVA* fasc. 4, III I c, pl. 32, no. 17. Ht. 0.108, diam. 0.115.

In each of these kantharoi, there is a tongue pattern on the rim, then a broad diamond pattern, then a narrow ivy, then another tongue pattern. Nos. 1, 2, and 4, at least, have a white horizontal line on the lower part.

No. 6 belongs to the group only formally, as it were; it surely does not seem closely related to any of the others. Nos. 1-5 are fairly consistent in shape; this can be seen even in the photograph of no. 5, which is so ill preserved that little of the decoration is visible. In 1-4 the diamonds are much alike, with little drift; but the ivy is by no means the same in the two vases (1 and 2) in which it can be seen, and the tongue pattern has little tendency to bind any two of the four together.

GROUP IV

Kantharoi

1. British Museum, old no. 1249; *CVA* fasc. 4, III I c, pl. 32, no. 16. Ht. 0.12, diam. 0.12.
2. Sèvres 210; *CVA*, pl. 48, no. 20. Ht. 0.12.
3. Bologna 558; Pellegrini, *VF*, p. 221. Ht. 0.12, diam. 0.11. (Pl. 33, fig. 10)
4. Bologna 560; Pellegrini, *VF*, p. 221. Ht. 0.11, diam. 0.105. From Giardino Margherita. (Pl. 32, fig. 8)
5. Found at the Theban Kabeirion; Wolters-Bruns, *Kabirenheiligtum*, pl. 18, no. 16, p. 87. Ht. 0.10, 5 a. Warsaw; *CVA* Poland 3, pl. 111, no. 19. Fragment.
6. Naples 603; *BCH* (1911) pl. 9, no. 126 (Sommer photo 11018, row 2, vase 5). Ht. 0.12.
7. Naples 596; *BCH* (1911) pl. 9, no. 125 (Sommer photo 11018, row 2, vase 4). Ht. 0.13.
8. Jerusalem 2348; *QDAP* II, p. 24, pl. 9, a 2. Fragment, from Tell Jemmeh. Another fragment (Petrie, *Gerar*, p. 20, pl. 46, 9) may well be from the same vase.
9. Bologna 559; Pellegrini, *VF*, p. 221; Zannoni, *Certosa*, p. 297. Ht. 0.115, diam. 0.115. (Pl. 32, fig. 6)
10. Munich 2574; *CVA* fasc. 2, pl. 94, no. 2. Ht. 0.115.
11. Würzburg 619; Langlotz, pl. 216. Ht. 0.115.
12. Paris, Musée Rodin TC 721; *CVA* pl. 27, no. 9. Ht. 0.11, diam. 0.11.
13. Syracuse; *ML* xiv, cols. 912, 915-916, fig. 112. Fragment. From Camarina.
14. Este 2756; *ML* x, col. 59, pl. 5, no. 10; Déchelette, *Millon*, p. 133, fig. 21; Randall-McIver, *Iron Age in Italy*, p. 42, pl. 8, no. 1. Ht. 0.11, diam. 0.11. From Este.
15. Este 2856; *ML* x, col. 65, pl. 5, no. 28; Déchelette, *Millon*, p. 134, fig. 22. Fragment.
16. Bologna 561; Pellegrini, *VF*, p. 221; Brizio, *Mus. It.* II, p. 86, grave 111, no. 3. Ht. 0.11; fragmentary. From De Luca graves. Known only from description.
17. Adria, Bocchi collection; Ghirardini, *ML* x, p. 61. From Adria. Known only from description.
18. Naples 588; *BCH* (1911) pl. 9, no. 124 (Sommer photo 11018, row 2, vase 10). Ht. 0.11.
19. Found at the Theban Kabeirion; Wolters-Bruns, *Kabirenheiligtum*, pl. 41, no. 4, p. 88. Fragment.

Skyphoi

20. Chicago, Art Institute 89.102. Ht. 0.11. From Italy. (Pl. 34, fig. 19)
21. Naples 643; *BCH* (1911) pl. 9, no. 120 (Sommer photo 11018, row 2, vase 2). Ht. 0.10.
22. Naples; *BCH* (1911) pl. 9, no. 121 (Sommer photo 11018, row 2, vase 1). Ht. 0.11.
23. British Museum 64, 10-7, 1675; *CVA* fasc. 4, III I c, pl. 32, no. 14. Ht. 0.08, diam. 0.094. Corinthian shape. From Kameiros.
24. Found in Rome; *ML* xli, col. 114, fig. 4, no. 3. Fragment of rim.
25. Vienna?; Laborde, *Collection de Vases Grecs*, II, pl. 49, 1; Reinach, *Répertoire*, II, p. 244.
26. Found at Cannae; *Japigia* (1938) 452, 481, fig. 52; *JHS* (1939) 222. Corinthian shape.

This is decidedly the largest of our groups. Each kantharos in it has a tongue pattern on the rim, then diamonds, then laurel in white, then another tongue pattern; the lower tongues are absent from the skyphoi. Many of the kantharoi are known to have a horizontal line in the lower part, which usually (nos. 1-3, 6-7, 10, 12) is certainly or probably white; in no. 4 it looks incised. Probably each skyphos has a reserved palmette under each handle.

For no. 3 (Bologna 558) Pellegrini cites Zannoni, *Certosa*, pl. 143, e; but Mme. Pincelli confirms my conclusion that these are two different vases.

It is probable that most of the group was produced by one man, though over a considerable period. Kantharoi 10-12 are close together, skyphoi 20 and 23, probably 21-22 as well, are close to them. The kantharoi in the first part

of the list are somewhat neater and probably earlier. Nos. 13-17 are little known. Nos. 18 and 19 seem to stand apart, not near each other.

GROUP V

Kantharoi

1. British Museum 1248; *CVA* fasc. 4, III I c, pl. 32, no. 19. Ht. 0.118, diam. 0.123.
2. British Museum 1251; *CVA* fasc. 4, III I c, pl. 32, no. 20. Ht. 0.115, diam. 0.112.
3. British Museum 67, 5-8, 1201; *CVA* fasc. 4, III I c, pl. 32, no. 21. Ht. 0.114, diam. 0.120.
4. Boston 89.267; Robinson, *Catalogue*, p. 188, no. 518. Ht. 0.103. (Pl. 34, fig. 16)
5. Angers; *RA* 17 (1923) 86, no. 50. Ht. 0.12.

In each of these kantharoi there is a tongue pattern on the rim, then a broad feather pattern, then laurel in white, then another tongue pattern. A white horizontal line on the lower part is apparently present in all four.

There is a strong and obvious likelihood that nos. 1-3 are made by one man. No. 4 is rougher and stands distinctly apart in the first patterns. No. 5 is known only from sketch and description.

GROUP VI

Kantharoi

1. Munich 2575; *CVA* fasc. 2, pl. 94, no. 9. Ht. 0.123.
2. University of Illinois, Classical Collection. (Pl. 34, fig. 18)
3. Todi; *CVA*, Musei Comunali Umbri, Italy, pl. 797, no. 8. Ht. 0.12, diam. 0.12.
4. Naples 601; *BCH* (1911) p. 228, pl. 9, no. 123 (Sommer photo 11018, row 2, no. 8). Ht. 0.135.
5. Naples 589; *BCH* (1911) p. 228, pl. 9, no. 122 (Sommer photo 11018, row 2, no. 3). Ht. 0.135.

Skyphoi

6. Sèvres 226; *CVA* pl. 48, no. 21. Ht. 0.075, diam. 0.09.
7. Bologna 516; Pellegrini, *VF*, p. 218. Ht. 0.08, diam. 0.11. From Arnoaldi graves. (Pl. 33, fig. 14)
8. Bologna 514; Pellegrini, *VF*, p. 218. Ht. 0.075, diam. 0.105. From Arnoaldi graves. Known only from description.
9. Bologna 515; Pellegrini, *VF*, p. 218. Ht. 0.07, diam. 0.09. From Arnoaldi graves. (Pl. 33, fig. 11)

10. Vienna 486; *CVA*, Kunsthistorisches Museum fasc. 1, pl. 41, nos. 6-7. Ht. 0.072.

Each kantharos in this group has a tongue pattern on the rim, then laurel, another tongue pattern, another laurel, a third tongue pattern. Nos. 1, 4, and 5, at least, have a white horizontal line on the lower part. None of the skyphoi has exactly this scheme. Nos. 6 and 10 have laurel on the rim, then a tongue pattern, then another laurel. Nos. 7-8 have tongues on the rim, then laurel, a reserved line, another laurel. In no. 9 there is a tongue pattern on the rim, then laurel, another tongue pattern; then a pattern in white which, from the photograph, cannot be laurel and appears to be ivy, of the fully denaturalized sort. Each skyphos has a reserved palmette under each handle. Kantharoi 3 and 5 have grooved bases.

Kantharoi 1-3 are closely related; 4 and 5, not well seen, seem to be like each other and perhaps like the first three. Of the four skyphoi that are known, no two look much alike; no. 7 could well go with the kantharoi. Eichler assigns 10 to the same hand as 6; this is not very obvious, but perhaps 10 could be regarded as connecting 6 with 7 and the kantharoi.

GROUP VII

Kantharoi

1. Naples 594; *BCH* (1911) 228, pl. 9, no. 127 (Sommer photo 11018, row 2, no. 6). Ht. 0.13.
2. Munich 2571; *CVA* fasc. 2, pl. 94, no. 6. Ht. 0.113.
3. Munich 2576; *CVA* fasc. 2, pl. 94, no. 7. Ht. 0.13.
4. Würzburg 621; Langlotz, pl. 216. Ht. 0.114.
5. Bologna 563; Pellegrini, *VF*, p. 221. Ht. 0.108, diam. 0.105. From the Arnoaldi graves. Known only from description.
- 5 a. Vienna 1124; *CVA*, Kunsthistorisches Museum fasc. 1, pl. 46, no. 4. Ht. 0.122, diam. 0.118.

Skyphoi

6. British Museum 90, 7-31, 32; *CVA* fasc. 4, III I c, pl. 32, no. 13. Ht. 0.079, diam. 0.093. From Poli, Cyprus.
7. Bologna 512; Pellegrini, *VF*, p. 218. Ht. 0.075, diam. 0.09. From Giardino Margherita. (Pl. 33, fig. 12)

8. Bologna 513; Pellegrini, *VF*, p. 218; Zannoni, *Certosa*, pl. 83, no. 6. From the Certosa.
9. Copenhagen 1414; *CVA* fasc. 4, pl. 159, no. 2. Ht. 0.10, diam. 0.125.

Each of these vases has a tongue pattern on the rim. Below that, there is a zone consisting of vertical panels, ranging from four to eight in number; they are alternately black and reserved; the black ones will have patterns in white, ivy, laurel, or leaf-like veining, the reserved will usually have oblique wavy lines, more or less parallel, in thin varnish. Below this zone there is usually white laurel, but a white zigzag in no. 7. At the bottom is another tongue pattern. The kantharoi 2, 3, and 5 have a white line on the lower part; no. 1, a line said to be red. No. 3 has a grooved base, probably 2 and 4 also. Each of the skyphoi has a reserved palmette below each handle, no. 9 also two spirals at each handle.

Within this group there is considerable diversity in drawing and doubtless in period. The kantharoi 2, 3, and 5 seem to be the work of one man, 4 of another; 1, not well seen, is unlikely to go closely with any of the others. The tongues on 4 are very like those on the skyphos 6. The other three skyphoi, by their form, should be materially later than 6, and in all three the tongue pattern is without dots. The short, widely spaced tongues of 9 constitute a particularly degenerate version of the pattern, and this skyphos is also set apart by the spirals at the handles; for these compare, e.g., *CVA*, British Museum fasc. 4, III I c, pl. 31, nos. 1 and 3; the latter is ascribed by Beazley (*ARV* p. 864, no. 6) to the Millin Painter, at the very end of the fifth century.

GROUP VIII

Kantharoi

1. Munich 2577; *CVA* fasc. 2, pl. 94, no. 8. Ht. 0.115.
2. Boston 03.828. Ht. 0.158, diam. 0.147. (Pl. 34, fig. 17)

These two kantharoi have in common a remarkable scheme of decoration, with two narrow oblique panels, ivy in no. 1 and laurel in no. 2. No. 1 has two white horizontal lines in

the lower part; no. 2 has two close together and a third higher. No. 2 has a grooved base. In form the two vases are fairly close to each other, though there is considerable difference in size.

They surely have no appearance of common authorship, but presumably are contemporary.

GROUP IX

Kantharoi

1. Lecce 670; *CVA* fasc. 2, IV D r, pl. 54, nos. 6 and 9. Ht. 0.11, diam. 0.115. From Rugge.
2. Formerly in collection of Angelo Signorelli, sold in Rome October 31, 1951; no. 244 in the Santa-maria auction catalogue.
3. New Haven 318; Baur, *Stoddard Collection*, p. 186, fig. 81. Ht. 0.105, diam. 0.112.
4. Karlsruhe B 256; *CVA* fasc. 1, pl. 33, no. 1. Ht. 0.11.
5. British Museum 1928, 1-17, 64; *CVA* fasc. 4, III I c, pl. 32, no. 12. Ht. 0.096, diam. 0.108.

Each of these five kantharoi has a dotless tongue pattern on the rim and, except for one side of no. 5, only there. Below the rim, except again for one side of no. 5, three narrow vertical panels (two in no. 2) near each handle and a broader pattern in the center. The two sides of the vase differ widely in nos. 1 and 5, slightly in no. 3; not at all, to judge from the description, in the other two, but for no. 2 the description is very brief. The patterns are numerous and varied. No. 1 has a reserved or white horizontal line just below the other patterns, i.e. not in the place usual in many kantharoi; nos. 3-5 have no line at all; in no. 2 there seems to be a reserved band of some width. The base is grooved in nos. 3-5, probably not in the other two.

No. 2, though not well seen, is likely to be by the same man as no. 1. No. 1 differs decidedly in form from nos. 3-5, which are closely similar to one another in this respect. As for the painting, nos. 4 and 5 could be by one hand, though there is little to compare except in the vertical panels. No. 3 stands between nos. 1-2 and nos. 3-5, going rather with 1-2 by the vertical panels and the eggs, but does not seem really close to either pair.

The vases of Group IX do not differ in technique from the other Saint-Valentin pieces; but

they are related, more closely than the rest, to the Apulian Xenon group, in which red paint is used (Beazley, *EtrVP*, p. 218; Johnson, *Farwell Collection*, pp. 58 f.). This is evident in the form of nos. 3-5, especially the handles; in the differentiation of the two sides; and in the absence of the lower tongue pattern and the horizontal line in the lower part. Nos. 1-3 have indeed been published as Apulian, and it is likely that that is correct.

GROUP A

Kantharoi

1. Sèvres 211; *CVA*, pl. 48, no. 18. Ht. 0.115, diam. 0.115.
2. Bologna 562; Pellegrini, *VF*, p. 221. Ht. 0.12, diam. 0.12. From De Luca graves. (Pl. 34, fig. 15)
3. Munich 2578; *CVA* fasc. 2, pl. 94, no. 5. Ht. 0.125.
4. British Museum, old no. 1252; *CVA* fasc. 4, III I c, pl. 32, no. 18. Ht. 0.108, diam. 0.110.
5. British Museum 73, 8-20, 380; *CVA* fasc. 4, III I c, pl. 32, no. 15. Ht. including handles, 0.115; width including handles, 0.17. From Apulia.

GROUP B

Skyphoi

1. Bologna 511; Pellegrini, *VF*, p. 218; Brizio, *Mus. It.* II, p. 3, grave 4. Ht. 0.095, diam. 0.115. From Arnoaldi graves. (Pl. 32, fig. 1, pl. 33, fig. 13)
2. Bologna 510; Pellegrini, *VF*, p. 218; Zannoni, *Certosa*, pl. 138, nos. 1-2. Ht. 0.145, diam. 0.175. From the Certosa.
3. Naples; *BCH* (1911) pl. 9, no. 167 (Sommer photo 11018, row 4, vase 5). Estimated ht. ca. 0.15.
4. British Museum E 151; *CVA* fasc. 4, III I c, pl. 32, no. 11. Ht. 0.082, diam. 0.082.
5. Berlin 2606; Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* II, p. 734. Ht. 0.075, diam. 0.083. Known only from description.
6. Braunschweig 506; *CVA* pl. 28, no. 10. Fragment of rim.
7. Athens, Acropolis 550; Graef-Langlotz II, p. 49, pl. 41. Fragment of rim, according to description.

GROUP C

Various

1. Bibliothèque Nationale 475; *CVA*, fasc. 2, III H e, pl. 68, nos. 10-11; De Ridder, II, p. 355. Ht.

0.05, diam. 0.055. Like a kantharos, but a phallos substituted for one handle.

2. Metropolitan Museum 50.152. A mug or oinochoe, approximately of the shape discussed recently by Corbett (*Hesperia* [1949] 332, nos. 78-80) and Johnson (*Farwell Collection*, pp. 49 f.).

In each piece in Group A there are tongues on the rim and at the bottom of the field of ornament. There are also, in A 1: a broad panel of feathers and a narrow chain pattern; in A 2: diamonds, white ivy, white laurel; in A 3: feathers in normal arrangement, narrow white laurel, feathers in unique arrangement; in A 4: myrtle above diamonds; in A 5: diamonds above a version of myrtle. In A 1 and A 3 there is a white line around the lower part; in A 2 this part is apparently restored. A 3 has a profiled base.

In B 1, a skyphos of Corinthian type, there is myrtle on the rim, then diamonds, then a very narrow zone which, as far as known, is black, then feathers. In B 2 there are tongues on the rim, diamonds, a zone of vertical zigzags, a narrow zone of feathers. In B 3 there is a network of crossing lines at the top, then diamonds, a checkerboard, an egg pattern; probably there is no white paint, and altogether the skyphos has little to do with anything else in the catalogue. B 4 is more or less of Corinthian type, but with one horizontal and one vertical handle; a late type of laurel on the rim, diamonds or checkerboard below; an owl below one handle, feline and bird below the other. B 5, known only from description, is probably similar; it has laurel on the rim, then feathers; an owl under one handle, a dog under the other. In B 6 there is a chain on the rim, diamonds below. In B 7, if we follow the description, there are tongues on the rim, then laurel, then diamonds; from the illustration one would suppose that the fragment belonged to the lower part of a Group IV kantharos.

The tiny C 1 is decorated with tongues, diamonds, tongues; and C 2 with a checkerboard only.

Two pieces in Group A require individual consideration.

The kantharos A 4 is largely isolated in both form and style of decoration. The varnish ap-

parently was poor; this resulted in a thickening at the tops and bottoms of diamonds, which might have led on to vertical lines at those places such as occur in B 1 and in the Lenin-grad skyphos mentioned *infra*, p. 201. Considering also the myrtle in A 4 and B 1, one could assume some connection between the two, but it does not appear to be close.

As for the form, it is paralleled fairly closely in two stamped skyphoi: one in Cambridge (*CVA* fasc. 1, pl. 41, no. 40) and one in Sèvres (*CVA* pl. 51, no. 2). These are mentioned, along with others, by Miss Pease (*Hesperia* [1937] 276) in connection with several fragmentary pieces at Corinth. The kantharoi at Brussels (*CVA* fasc. 3, pl. 136, no. 1) and Athens from the Kabeirion (Wolters-Bruns, pl. 42, no. 1, p. 89; no. 10483) are slightly farther from A 4, with increasing elegance of form and probably later; one in Würzburg (Langlotz, pl. 222, no. 706) might be supposed slightly earlier than those in Cambridge and Sèvres. Markedly less elegant than any of these are three in Frankfurt (Schaal, *Griechische Vasen*, pl. 58 h), Cairo (*AA* [1902] 156, fig. 3), and Brussels (*CVA* fasc. 3, pl. 136, no. 3). These three are surely counterparts of a small group of stemmed kantharoi with red-figure decoration, which are securely located in the second quarter of the century and perhaps a little later (Beazley, *Poland*, p. 32, note 1; *Studies . . . Robinson*, p. 103). The other stamped pieces would extend at least into the fourth quarter; we have not attempted to find evidence in the stamping itself, but believe that this does not militate against the conclusion. The late third or fourth quarter is indicated for A 4 also.

The myrtle pattern may be remarked on at this point, though it gives little information on the date of A 4. In its normal form, this pattern is used on only two of our pieces, A 4 and B 1. In the former, as Ashmole has kindly made clear, only the leaves are reserved, the rest of the pattern being white; and Pellegrini's description shows that the condition was the same in B 1, except that the overpaint has so thoroughly disappeared that its color is apparently uncertain. From the photograph, one might suppose that the pattern had been reduced to the leaves, and so it surely was in some in-

stances (Berlin lekythos: Hahland, *Vasen um Meidias*, pl. 14; Beazley, *ARV*, p. 839, manner of Meidias Painter 58. Doubtless so in Louvre skyphos CA 1588: Jacobsthal, *Ornamente*, pl. 128; Beazley, p. 756, Shuvalov Painter 55). Apparently it was established custom to have a mixture of technique when the pattern was complete; e.g., the Toronto skyphos of Teisias (Robinson-Harcum, no. 348, pl. 52), two pieces in the Metropolitan (Richter-Hall, nos. 109-110, suggested dates 450 and 460), a plate in Bologna (Pellegrini, *VF*, p. 223, fig. 141, probably third quarter of the century). Three skyphoi decorated only with myrtle and white lines should, as Eichler says, come from a single workshop (*CVA* British Museum, fasc. 4, III I c, pl. 31, no. 7; *CVA* Kunsthistorisches Museum, pl. 41, nos. 4-5); they do not at all resemble the known skyphoi decorated only with laurel.

A tendency to flatten the leaves of myrtle patterns against the lines that bound the pattern is seen in a number of pieces made around 450 and later (e.g., New York bell krater 109, Richter-Hall pl. 109; *Hesperia* [1937] 262, no. 6). In these two cases the berries are present, in applied color as usual. Since the applied color is prone to disappear or to be imperceptible in illustrations, it is often hard to tell how closely the pattern approaches the extreme simplification seen in A 5. The following appear to offer fairly good parallels, though in most of them the leaves are rather more leaf-like than in A 5: New York bell krater 133, Richter-Hall pl. 132, dated by Miss Richter about 440; British Museum bell krater E 497, *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, V, p. 131, fig. 13, Beazley, *ARV*, p. 668, no. 1; Madrid bell krater 11010, *CVA* fasc. 2, pl. 74, no. 1, Beazley p. 402, Villa Giulia Painter 18; Madrid bell krater 11013, *CVA* pl. 74, no. 2, Beazley, p. 697, Polygnotan Group 44; Madrid bell krater 11082, *CVA* pl. 94, no. 3, Beazley, p. 715, Painter of Bologna 322, 1; Oxford volute krater, *CVA* fasc. 1, pl. 113, nos. 1-2, Beazley, *ARV*, p. 696, Polygnotan Group 22; Syracuse pelike 18426, *CVA* pl. 821, no. 4, Beazley p. 391, Hephaistos Painter 26. Closer than any of the above, perhaps, is the Boston calyx krater of the Achilles Painter (Caskey-Beazley, pl. 23, no. 50), dated 450-440; and the Copenhagen hydria 1942 (*CVA* fasc. 4, pl. 154,

no. 4; Beazley, p. 656, Phiale Painter 56). Closest of all is the Syracuse bell krater 23508 (*CVA* pl. 828; Beazley, p. 427, Painter of Woolly Satyrs 3; Buschor in *AM* [1927] 232) which Buschor dates around 450. The chronological range of these patterns is limited; probably all would belong to the third quarter of the century or quite late in the second.

The kantharos A 5 is the only member of the Saint-Valentin class that uses this pattern, and it is unique also in form, being perhaps the only member that really ought to be called a kantharos. Examples of the form are mostly black; short lists are provided in Caskey-Beazley, p. 17, note 5, and *CVA* Oxford, fasc. 2, p. 109, on pl. 52, no. 12. Comparison for form would suggest that A 5 is later than the earliest of those listed (*CVA* Oxford, fasc. 1, pl. 48, no. 34) and earlier than the latest (Oxford, as cited above). One in Copenhagen (*CVA* fasc. 4, pl. 176, no. 11) might be slightly later than ours, one from the Kabeirion (Wolters-Bruns, pl. 18, no. 12, p. 90) still later; it is implied that many examples of the form were found at the Kabeirion. One in Athens has figures, of 430-420 according to Beazley, but it is unpublished. Comparison may be made also with stemmed kantharoi of Caskey's form A 2; our vase would correspond closely to British Museum E 157 (*CVA* fasc. 4, III I c, pl. 34, no. 2), "time of the Eretria Painter."

Except for A 4 and A 5, all the Saint-Valentin kantharoi are of substantially the same shape. It might be questioned whether A 4 is really an exception; and it has been more or less definitely suggested by Miss Pease (*Hesperia* [1937] 276-278) and Miss Haspels (*ABL*, p. 189) that the development of form in stamped kantharoi, traced *supra* in connection with A 4, would be valid for the sessile kantharos in general. However, the stamped kantharoi never approached the customary Saint-Valentin form very closely; besides, their development was apparently little advanced at the middle of the century, when the Saint-Valentin class was probably already established.

The form is so simple that it could, of course, have been designed without any model. However, we are inclined to think that the first makers of these kantharoi received a suggestion

from the plastic vases, especially the janiform kantharoi; that they took the vase part of such a piece and completed it in the simplest way to make an independent vase. This at least presents no chronological difficulty, since the head-vases certainly start earlier than the Saint-Valentin class. The handles in some of them (e.g., pl. 5, no. 1, or fig. 3, in Beazley's article, *JHS* [1929] 38ff.), though not in all, correspond excellently in shape and position to those of our pieces. It is not necessary to suppose that the head-kantharoi imitated any kind of kantharos that previously existed separately, since the form of the vase part resulted naturally, if not inevitably, from the attempt to make a tolerable drinking-vessel out of a human head, or especially out of two human heads. The vases combined with animal heads often have much the same form, except for one handle instead of two; cf. nos. 1, 6, 9, 14, in the list, *infra*.

The tongue pattern, in its standard form, contains vertical lines between the tongues; but as it usually appears in our class, the lines are reduced to dots at the bottom.

In some examples, notably I 1-6 and A 1, the tongues are carefully and uniformly drawn and the dots accurately placed. Often, however, the tongues are immoderately slender, or irregular in length or direction or spacing; the dots may be below their horizontal line, or imbedded in it, instead of above it; and there may be no relation in placing between the tongues and the dots. IV 12 and VII 2 might be cited as having the two worst tongue patterns, though they are not like each other. In III 6, VI 9, VII 7-9, all of IX, A 4, and B 2 the dots are not present at all; the pattern then consists simply of vertical bars, which are common (multitudes in Haspels *ABL*); but in our class they are usually, at least, late. In VI 1 the dots are present and normal in one tongue pattern, lacking in the other.

Outside of our class, the tongue pattern with dots is relatively uncommon. Examples are: Graef-Langlotz no. 433, pl. 34 (Beazley, *ARV*, p. 216, no. 10, manner of Panaitios Painter); the Memnon kylix of Douris; a pyxis in Cambridge (*CVA* fasc. 2, pl. 26, no. 1; Beazley, p. 297, no. 34, manner of Douris); the Boston kantharos of the Brygos Painter; an alabastron in the British Museum (*JHS* [1921] pl. 5, III 4);

an alabastron in Würzburg (Langlotz, pl. 204, no. 546; Beazley, p. 512, no. 95, Karlsruhe Painter); a volute krater in Ferrara (Aurigemma², p. 185; Beazley, p. 337, no. 2, Boreas Painter). The pattern occurs in several choes (van Hoorn, *Choes and Anthesteria*, no. 389, "earlier fifth century"; no. 92, "ca. 460"; no. 170, "ca. 450"; fig. 22, no. 517, "ca. 425"; no. 21, "later fifth century." Although the choes are not pretentious vases, their patterns are neat by Saint-Valentin standards, and the same is true of the other pieces mentioned. A fragment from the Kabeirion (Wolters-Bruns, pl. 41, no. 10) has a pretty rough version, but it is still much superior to many in our class. The pattern is found in Fikellura ware (*BSA XXXIV*, p. 74, pl. 14). An Attic pyxis in Athens (no. 1584; *CVA* pl. 28, no. 1) has a rare version, with dots above as well as below.

The list just given could certainly be much extended, but its members would still be *relatively* few and scattered. However, there is an exception: in plastic vases there is a considerable concentration of tongue patterns. The following list, though undoubtedly incomplete, will prove the point.

1. Horse-head, Boston; Beazley, *ARV*, p. 255, Brygos Painter 143.
2. Mule-head, Orvieto; Beazley, Brygos Painter 144; *CVA* Musci Umbri, pl. 760, 1-3.
3. Ram-head, Goluchow; Beazley, p. 254, Brygos Painter 139.
4. Ram-head, Genoa; Beazley, p. 254, Brygos Painter 140; *CVA*, Italy pls. 908f.
5. Dog-head, Villa Giulia; Beazley, p. 254, Brygos Painter 141.
6. Lion-head, British Museum; Beazley, p. 292, Douris 199. The attribution could probably be made from the tongue pattern alone, by comparison with the Memnon kylix.
7. Donkey-head, Petit Palais; Beazley, p. 229, Colmar Painter 53.
8. Eagle-head, British Museum; *CVA* fasc. 4, pl. 43, no. 3.
9. Horse-head, British Museum; *CVA* fasc. 4, pl. 43, no. 1. Mostly dotless.
10. Ram-head, Leningrad; Beazley, p. 451, Sotades Painter 12. Dotless.
11. Pygmy and crane, Munich; Beazley, p. 452, manner of Sotades Painter 3. Dotless.
12. Form uncertain, from the Kabeirion; Beazley, p. 452, manner of Sotades Painter 9; Wolters-Bruns, pl. 39, no. 2, p. 85.
13. Ram-head, from the Kabeirion, no. 10461; Wolters-Bruns, pl. 39, no. 1. Not remote from no. 11.
14. Cow-head in Metropolitan Museum; Richter-Milne, fig. 180. Tongues almost round.
15. Cow-head in Petit Palais; *CVA* pl. 29, nos. 7-9. Very like the preceding, but more careful.
16. Ram-head in Bologna; Beazley, p. 545, Orleans Painter 16.
17. Ram-head in Copenhagen; Beazley, p. 545, Orleans Painter 17.
18. Dog-head, Petit Palais; Beazley, p. 512, Karlsruhe Painter 103.
19. Donkey-head(?), Florence; Beazley, p. 558, Sabouroff Painter 44.
20. Lamb-head in Gallatin Collection; Beazley, p. 568, Painter of London E 100, 4.
21. Form uncertain, Florence; Beazley, p. 406, Villa Giulia Painter 85.
22. Ram-head, Athens; Beazley, p. 406, Villa Giulia Painter 84. Dotless.
23. Lion-head, British Museum E 798; Beazley, p. 407, manner of Villa Giulia Painter.
24. Ram-head, Ferrara; Beazley, p. 727, Eretria Painter 29.
25. Double head, satyr and Herakles, Rhodes; Beazley, p. 727, Eretria Painter 31.
26. Donkey-head, Toronto; Beazley, p. 730, manner of Eretria Painter 4.
27. Donkey-head, Ferrara; Beazley, p. 730, manner of Eretria Painter 5.
28. Double head, woman and satyr, Metropolitan Museum; Beazley, p. 800, Aison 19.
29. Horse-head, Petit Palais; *CVA* pl. 30, nos. 6-8.

Sometimes there is a pattern just like our usual tongue pattern except that the tongues are short. Such are: Graef-Langlotz, pl. 17, no. 293 (Beazley, *ARV*, p. 246, Brygos Painter 5); pl. 25, no. 355 (Beazley, p. 546, connected with Stieglitz Painter of the school of Makron); pl. 39, no. 504 b; Louvre stamnos of the Triptolemos Painter (*Encyclopédie photographique III*, p. 21; Beazley, p. 239, no. 2). Two others in Graef-Langlotz (pl. 52, no. 640; pl. 44, no. 598) might be reckoned to this list, as could a few in the list of plastic vases (nos. 14, 15, 24). Though it is difficult to draw a sharp line between these and the others, it is evident that a different origin is possible: these, or some of them, are certainly simplified versions of an egg

pattern. It is not probable that any Saint-Valentin decorator was conscious of this connection, though the short tongues on the rim in Group I might suggest it.

In the diamond patterns, as a general rule, each solid black diamond has a white linear diamond, with white central dot, painted over it; and each reserved diamond has a black linear diamond, with black central dot, painted in it. This was certainly true in I 2, I 4, I 6, I 9, III 1-2, III 4, IV 3-4, IV 5 a, IV 10, IV 12-13, IV 19-20, IV 23-24, VIII 2, A 4-5, B 6. In other cases it is hard to be sure, for neither the white paint nor the thinned glaze used for the overpainted black diamonds is very durable. In I 5, I 7-8, IV 9, and B 1, the black-on-reserved diamonds are visible, but not the white-on-black; however, in these cases the white paint of ivy or laurel has also disappeared, and we take it that the white diamonds were certainly present. In III 3, IV 2, IV 5, and IV 11 the white-on-black diamonds are perceptible, but not the black-on-reserve; and the same is more or less clearly implied in a number of descriptions, where illustrations are poor: IV 1, IV 6-7, IV 14-15, IV 18, IV 21-22. Perhaps, then, the reserved diamonds were left plain in these, or in some of them; yet sometimes, notably in IV 12 and IV 20, the traces of the overpainted black diamonds, though sure, are very faint in comparison with the white, and in some similar cases they may have escaped notice.

In I 1 the black diamonds have white ones over them as usual, but the reserved diamonds contain black crosses; and the same is probably true of A 2. In III 6 there are white crosses on the black diamonds; the description implies that the reserved diamonds are plain, though from the illustration one might suppose that they contained black crosses. In C 1 there are black crosses on the reserved diamonds and uncertain designs in white on the black ones. In B 2, if we take the illustration at face value, there were no overpainted patterns at all. The same is true of IX 1.

In IX 3, B 4, and C 2 the pattern approaches a checkerboard. In B 4 there are white dots on black squares and black dots on reserved squares; in IX 3 and C 2 only the black dots.

In making these patterns one would natu-

rally start by drawing a network of crossing lines. This procedure is particularly clear in figs. 6 (pl. 32) and 19 (pl. 34), and doubtless was employed usually or always. In many cases, however, the black areas are so roughly put in that the reticulate neatness is largely lost (for this also fig. 19 is a good example), and the rough drawing of the linear diamonds increases the confusion of pattern. A modern decorator might defend the result, using some such term as "shimmering," but to the eye of Hermonax it was a mere spatter of three colors. The diamonds may be arrayed in regular horizontal and vertical rows, or the rows may drift away from what would seem their proper axes; sometimes, as in fig. 5 (pl. 32), the rows are definitely not horizontal and vertical, but oblique. It is noticeable that the drifting rows are not particularly likely to occur in company with the rough execution of fig. 19, rather the contrary.

Miss Haspels (*ABL*, pp. 184f.) and Beazley have collected a number of pieces, mostly stemless kylixes, that have diamond patterns along with figures. They are assigned to the Marlay Painter (*ARV*, pp. 767ff., nos. 24, 26, 38-40, 53), the Lid Painter (*ARV*, pp. 769ff., nos. 3-4, 13-16, 22-23) and others not far distant (p. 775, nos. 6 and 1; p. 778, no. 2). It seems probable that all belong to the third quarter of the fifth century. Illustrations of only four are available: two in the British Museum (*JHS* [1921] 135, fig. 10; Lid Painter nos. 13 and 16), one in Vienna (*CVA* Kunsthistorisches Museum, pl. 25; Lid Painter no. 14) and one in Sèvres (*CVA*, pl. 20, nos. 1, 3, 5; Lid Painter no. 15). Two of them have black dots in reserved diamonds and nothing else; the third, white crosses on black diamonds also; the fourth, black dots and white dots. It is unlikely that these are closely connected with any of our larger groups, though they could go with III 6, which has white crosses and is isolated among our pieces. It may be noted that the Lid Painter, at least in the four known pieces, seems to make a deliberate distinction between drifting rows and stable ones; the former are used when the pattern occupies almost the entire exterior of the kylix, giving a whirligig effect; the latter in relatively small panels. It is clear that some of our kantharoi are earlier than these kylixes, which constitute

an offshoot from our category, not an ancestor.

Doubtless earlier than any of the kylixes is a skyphos in Leningrad (*CR* [1877] pl. 4, nos. 1-3), which should date from about 460. Here each solid diamond has a very small linear diamond within it, with vertical lines from the upper and lower corners. The description contains no information on the colors used. The pattern is not a close approximation of our usual type, but has some similarity. The black-on-reserve diamonds of B 1 approach this pattern fairly closely in some cases, though apparently not in all.

Related patterns that are definitely earlier than our class may be found in the head-vases (Beazley, *JHS* [1929] 38ff.; *ARV*, pp. 892ff.). As early as Charinos, ca. 510-500 B.C., a diamond-within-diamond pattern occurs (Beazley, *ARV*, C 3; Rodenwaldt, *Kunst der Antike*, pl. 10). This is repeated exactly in at least one head-vase (Beazley, *ARV*, G 8; Louvre H 46; Perrot-Chipiez X, pl. 23), and other diamond patterns occur in them also (e.g., *JHS* [1929] 59, figs. 10-11). The Charinos pattern is followed closely, though with a dot substituted for the inner diamond, in a Karlsruhe lekythos (*CVA* pl. 32, no. 6), where the ground is white, and that is consequently the color of the reserved diamonds. Several other white-ground lekythoi and aryballoi have diamond patterns, not like that used by Charinos; they, along with the Karlsruhe lekythos, are connected by Miss Haspels (*ABL*, p. 182) with the workshop of the Beldam Painter. The white color tends to connect these patterns with ours, but as far as known they contain no diamonds drawn in white. The patterns in the head-vases were, in all probability, adapted from the designs in the snoods actually worn; but, once the adaptation was made in pottery, the later ceramic uses would be dependent on pottery rather than on fabrics.

A black-figure amphora, British Museum B 157 (*CVA* fasc. 3, III H e, pl. 26, no. 3), shows a pattern earlier than any previously mentioned and as close to the Saint-Valentin version as an incised pattern could well be; apparently it represents decoration on a garment. And Athena's garment in the Berlin amphora signed by Exekias (Technau, *Exekias*, pl. 1) has a pat-

tern analogous to ours in the alternation of black and red squares, though it is a checker-board rather than a diamond pattern.

The man who first drew the diamond patterns on Saint-Valentin kantharoi received suggestions from earlier decorators; but if he followed any model closely, it was a fabric; in any case, it was he himself who established the vogue of the pattern.

In most of the "feather" patterns, each black "feather" has barbs in white and each reserved "feather" in dilute black. There is regularly a central shaft, which in the reserved "feathers" is generally strengthened by the ends of the barbs, drawn from the edge toward the shaft. The form of the "feather" is not far from semicircular. In IX 1 and IX 2 the "feathers" are much longer than usual; this trait is less extreme in IX 5, still less in IX 4; in all of these the inner lines differ from the usual kind. In I 8, I 9, and A 3 the "feathers," or some of them, are somewhat long, but in the last two it may be merely a matter of inaccuracy. In the reserved "feathers" of V 4 there is no central shaft, though the other lines are drawn, roughly, as usual. In VIII 1 the reserved "feathers," without shafts, contain parallel wavy lines, like those in the vertical panels of that vase and of the members of Group VII. In A 3 the arrangement of the "feathers" in the lower panel is abnormal, and apparently there is no overpainting in the reserved "feathers" of the upper panel or in either kind in the lower panel.

It is evident that in the last three cases the treatment is little suggestive of actual feathers, and the question arises whether the pattern was intended to be so understood.

Patterns of this kind are apparently descended from Corinthian scale patterns (Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 19), though scale patterns occur in various other wares from Minoan on (cf. R. M. Cook, *BSA* XXXIV, p. 78), including Proto-attic (*CVA* Berlin, fasc. 1, pls. 18, 33). At Corinth the curve of the scale is almost always down, or sidewise in special situations, though it is up in an alabastron (*CVA* Copenhagen, fasc. 2, pl. 83, no. 1); and the pattern is purely decorative in the great majority of cases, though used for feathers occasionally (*CVA* Copenhagen, fasc. 2, pl. 96, no. 3), perhaps especially

on plastic fowl (Payne, *op. cit.*, pl. 44; *CVA* Munich, fasc. 3, pl. 149, no. 1).

In Attic pottery the pattern is sometimes purely decorative (*CVA* Goluchow, pl. 15, no. 5), but commonly it is used for the scales of Triton and such personages, or for the aegis of Athena; sometimes for patterns in garments (Graef, *Akropolis*, pl. 29, no. 596; pl. 94, no. 2134; Pfuhl, *MuZ* III, fig. 241; *CVA* Munich, fasc. 1, pl. 20, no. 2); sometimes for armor, in which the representation would be fairly literal (Louvre G 179, *CVA* fasc. 6, III I c, pl. 54, no. 6; Sosias kylix in Berlin). Sometimes it really represents feathers (Graef, pl. 77, no. 1312; pl. 102, no. 2499; eagle rhyton, British Museum *CVA* fasc. 4, III I c, pl. 43, no. 3); Pfuhl, *MuZ* III, fig. 345. The pattern represents feathers in only a small proportion of its occurrences on vases, and only a small proportion of the feathers on vases are so represented. In none of the instances mentioned is the curve at the top; sometimes it is at the side, but customarily at the bottom. In the case of real feathers, this means that they grow downward.

In terracotta sculpture (Van Buren, *Greek Fictile Revetments*, pp. 171-174) and marble sculpture (Richter, *Archaic Attic Gravestones*, figs. 32, 48, 49, 52; *AJA* 50 [1946] 3) the pattern is often used for the feathers of sphinxes, on the breast and at the beginning of the wing. (Cf. also Wiegand, *Poros-Architektur*, pl. 3, wings of birds.) In some the feathers grow down; but in at least one case, and that quite early, it seems that the feathers are shown growing up, though their rude form suggests that the artist cared little how they grew (Richter, fig. 32; much the same in fig. 48). In one notable sphinx (Richter, fig. 52), where the pattern is neat and clear, the feathers grow down on the breast, whereas on the wing their orientation corresponds to the shape of the wing, some of them growing up. Thus it is clear that even in the first half of the sixth century the pattern with the curve at the top was known, though apparently it was not the predominant type.

In a red-figure vase from the Acropolis (Graef-Langlotz, pl. 51, no. 636), which, by its figures, is dated to 510-500 B.C., the curve is at the top; and so it is in another and smaller fragment,

(Graef-Langlotz, p. 49, no. 549), which is very like the other, in the Eucharides Painter's krater (*CVA* Louvre, fasc. 1, III I c, pl. 9) and in some examples in Douris's arming scene (Pfuhl, *MuZ* III, fig. 455).

Again later in the "oinochoe VII" in the Louvre (G 442; *Enc. Phot.* III, p. 27; Beazley, *ARV*, p. 661, Mannheim Painter no. 6; cf. *EtrVP*, p. 201) the "feathers" point upward, as in the Saint-Valentin class. It may be noted that the Vatican jug of the Mannheim Painter (*FR* III, p. 296) bears an owl which, like most red-figure owls, has no feathers that resemble the pattern in the least.

Oinochoe VII "suggests a bird, especially an owl; and this has affected the decoration," according to Beazley (*EtrVP*, p. 201). Placed as they are on the vase, the "feathers" would apparently correspond to the breast feathers of the bird, which would surely grow down instead of up. In view of the relative frequency of the pattern on this shape and the corresponding use of owls, Beazley's suggestion may be valid; but the painter seems to have had little interest in making the connection clear; for, as shown on the vase mentioned, the pattern looks hardly more like feathers than a Lesbian Leaf of the fifth century like its vegetal ancestor.

The lines in the Saint-Valentin feathers, present in none of the other pieces thus far mentioned, are paralleled in an Acropolis fragment (Graef, pl. 112, no. 2671), which is thought to be part of a piece in the form of a bird, with little to suggest a date; and in later sculpture (e.g. the bronze Eros in the Metropolitan, *AJA* 47 [1943] p. 371). Obviously the lines contribute substantially to the resemblance to real feathers; obviously, also, the alternating colors have no such effect. If there were predecessors whom our decorators followed closely, they have not been observed. It is apparently as in the diamond pattern: the Saint-Valentin decorators followed an established type, but devised their own special version of it. Their pattern was borrowed on an "oinochoe VII" in Marseilles (Clerc, *Massalia* I, p. 313; Beazley, *EtrVP*, p. 201, "about 425"; others mentioned). A bronze "oinochoe VI" in the British Museum (Jacobs-thal-Langsdorff, pl. 14 a; Beazley, *EtrVP*, p. 266) has long feathers as in our later pieces.

Ivy patterns had a long history before their use in our class, but they were not commonly white. There are some scattered examples in this medium (e.g., *CVA* British Museum, fasc. 4, III H e, pl. 48, nos. 1f.), but apparently they are abundant in only one group: the head-vases. Many are shown in Beazley's article, *JHS* (1929) 38ff., and in the fourth fascicule of the British Museum *CVA*. Usually, in these pieces, the ivy leaves are triangular, but the dot-like kind also occur (*JHS* [1929] pl. 2, nos. 1-2). In plastic vases of other types, good parallels for our pattern are rare; however, there is a sufficiently good one, in white, on a mule-head rhyton in Orvieto (*CVA* Musei Umbri, pl. 760, nos. 1-3; Beazley, *ARV*, p. 255, Brygos Painter 144); another on a ram-head in the Metropolitan Museum (39.11.6).

The Saint-Valentin laurel patterns have features that make it hard to find satisfactory predecessors for them: they are executed entirely in white, they include berries, and the leaves are generally spineless. Laurel often occurs on architectural terracottas (Buschor, *Tondächer*, passim) and around the middle of the fifth century it becomes common on red-figure vases, especially bell kraters. Examples with berries, though not really scarce, are in a minority. A number of skyphoi have laurel as their only or principal decoration; e.g., British Museum *CVA*, fasc. 4, III I c, pl. 31, no. 4; Bologna 517-520, 545-547; of these only 545 is illustrated (Zannoni, pl. 120, no. 6, p. 379). A skyphos found in Athens (*Praktika* [1950] 113, fig. 35f; p. 115) has the laurel along with figures, apparently of about 450; another (Graef-Langlotz, pl. 40, no. 492) with figures of ca. 465. It is probable that these skyphoi begin earlier than the Saint-Valentin pieces with laurel; Bologna 545 was in a grave with a black-figure amphora (Pellegrini, *VF*, no. 24; Zannoni, *ibid*; *CVA* fasc. 2, III H e, pl. 14, nos. 1-2), which should be quite early in the century. In some of the skyphoi there are berries with the laurel; but the standard white pattern in our class was apparently in some degree an invention, doubtless suggested by the white ivy already in use.

Generally, there is no great variation in the laurel. V 4, VII 2, A 3, and B 7 are exceptional in having spines in the leaves, but hardly other-

wise. IV 26, VI 9, IX 4, A 2, are exceptional in form; though no two of the three are very similar, all could be considered somewhat like the pattern in Lecce 883 (*CVA* fasc. 2, pl. 294, nos. 2 and 5; Apulian).

Two pieces (A 1, B 6) show an interesting development from the chain pattern, which was discussed somewhat by Miss Pease (*Hesperia* [1935] 230, no. 18). The earliest examples are perhaps Corinthian (*CVA* University of California, pl. 9, no. 5, "late Middle"), and it occurs later in Corinthian (Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 335, no. 1525) and Fikellura (*BSA* XXXIV, pl. 16, c). However, it is chiefly an Attic pattern. An unmistakable, though not altogether typical, example occurs on a tripod pyxis in the Louvre (Beazley, *Development*, pl. 8, no. 1), which is ascribed to the C Painter of the second quarter of the sixth century, and the pattern is found often in later black-figure (e.g., *AA* [1935] 478; *Studies* . . . Robinson II, pl. 49 c, p. 136, no. 9; Boston 98.917, an early black-figure lid with two good chains; Graef, *Akropolis*, pl. 48, 733; pl. 92, 2077; pl. 95, 2167; pl. 112, 2661), with some concentration in Droop kylixes (on which see Ure, in *Studies* . . . Robinson II, pp. 45-54; Nikosthenes uses several variations (Hoppin, *BF*, pp. 179, 217, 221). It continues in red-figure through the fifth century, though not in very frequent use.

In origin, the pattern consists of two black designs in opposed alternation, the appearance of a "red-figure ribbon" being accidental; this explanation is implied by R. M. Cook (*BSA* XXXIV, p. 75). Various examples of such alternation could be cited: Payne, p. 334, no. 1517; pl. 28, no. 5; *CVA* Scheurleer, fasc. 2, pl. 70, no. 11; *CVA* Louvre, fasc. 8, III C a, pl. 27, no. 18; these are Corinthian and could be direct ancestors of the chain pattern; *CVA* Berlin, fasc. 1, pl. 15 (Protoattic); Langlotz, Würzburg, pl. 108, no. 389 a and pl. 119, no. 442 (Attic black-figure); *CVA* Petit Palais, pl. 9, no. 11 (rim of Nikosthenic amphora); Richter-Hall, pl. 77, no. 73 (pyxis by Penthesileia Painter). In the chain pattern the opposed designs are sometimes very angular (Haspels, *ABL*, pl. 2, no. 2; *CVA* Brussels, fasc. 3, pl. 119, no. 5; *CVA* Bibliothèque Nationale, fasc. 1, III H e, pl. 46, nos. 5-6), sometimes they consist of curves

(Haspels, pl. 14, no. 13; *CVA Bibliothèque Nationale*, fasc. 2, III H e, pl. 59, no. 1).

Our two examples, surely by one hand, have two unusual features: spines, which make the reserved sections into leaves, and small reserved rings between the leaves. For the former, no parallels have been observed, and for the latter only one; this is a hydria in Brussels (*CVA* fasc. 3, pl. 130, no. 1; Beazley, *ARV*, p. 320, no. 63), which is ascribed to Hermonax. The evidence for the attribution is not very obvious; nor, if the attribution be accepted, is it easy to place the vase in the career of the painter; but surely it would not belong to his latest period, i.e. it would not be later than 450 (cf. *AJA* [1947] 247); and, without regard to the authorship, one would place it in the second quarter of the century. In a number of cases the pattern includes reserved dots, which might be supposed the predecessors of the rings. One such piece (Robinson, *Olynthus* V, pl. 65, no. 110) is dated about 460, but most examples are later than this and later than the Brussels hydria. Further, the rings apparently begin, in patterns other than the chain, at least as early as the chain with dots (Smith, *Lewismler*, pl. 33, c-d, middle period; pl. 34, a-b, late period; Richter-Hall, pl. 77, no. 73, Penthesileia Painter, suggested date 465-460); they occur even on the Genoa ram-head of the Brygos Painter (*CVA* pl. 909, no. 3). Thus, there is nothing to diminish the likelihood, based most tangibly on the Brussels hydria, that our version of the chain pattern belongs to the second quarter of the century.

Several of our pieces were found in circumstances that afford some evidence on chronology.

I 6 and I 7 were found in a single grave at Bologna, which contained also a red-figure stamnos (Pellegrini, *VF*, p. 61, no. 175) and a red-figure ram rhyton (Pellegrini, *VF*, p. 222, no. 567, fig. 139; Beazley, *ARV*, p. 600, no. 1). The latter is illustrated poorly and the former not at all; but Pellegrini apparently places the stamnos at about 450, and a slightly earlier date would be reasonable for the rhyton, which, according to Beazley, is probably by the Painter of Bologna 417, of the workshop of the Penthesileia Painter.

In the grave that contained I 5 there were two black-figure oinochoai (*Clara Rhodos* IV, p. 60, fig. 34; Haspels, *ABL*, p. 189), which Miss Haspels relates to the workshop of the Haimon Painter and dates 480-470; a black-figure alabastron (*Clara Rhodos* IV, fig. 39), which Miss Haspels ascribes to the Emporion Painter and dates about 470; and a red-figure hydria (*Clara Rhodos* IV, fig. 35; *CVA* fasc. 2, pl. 7, nos. 2-3; Beazley, *ARV*, p. 399, no. 80), which is ascribed by Beazley to an undetermined mannerist and dated by Miss Haspels about 450, but perhaps could be earlier.

In the grave with I 4 there was an Etruscan bronze oinochoe (Jacobsthal-Langsdorff, *Die Bronzeschnabelkannen*, pl. 3, no. 36; Ebert, *Reallexikon*, XI, pl. 30) of the type placed by Jacobsthal and Langsdorff (pp. 61f.) in the first generation of the fifth century. However, they note that such pieces are found with companions of widely varying dates.

In the grave with I 8 there was a red-figure kantharos (Pellegrini, *VF*, no. 467; Zannoni, *Certosa*, pl. 69, nos. 9, 17, 18; Beazley, *ARV*, p. 727, no. 32; Haspels, *ABL*, p. 189), which Beazley ascribes to the Eretria Painter and Miss Haspels reasonably dates 440-430. It has been noted that I 8 stands apart from I 1-6.

In the grave with II 3 there was a red-figure bell krater (Pellegrini, *VF*, p. 159, no. 320), not illustrated. "Stile bello, primo periodo" should mean soon after 450.

In the grave with II 2 there was an Etruscan stamnos, of the type recently discussed by Beazley (*EtrVP*, pp. 248-250, 308) and Montanari (*StEtr* XXI, 1950-51, pp. 312-315). The main period of the stamnoi seems to be the third quarter of the century. The stamnos found with II 2 is one of three which, though included as nos. 13-15 in Beazley's Formal Group, stand apart, probably earlier or later than most; more probably later, it would seem, with their extreme formalization; but in any case not far from the third quarter.

In the grave with III 3 there was a red-figure column krater (Pellegrini, *VF*, p. 80, no. 205, fig. 50; *CVA*, fasc. 1, pl. 36, nos. 1-2; Beazley, *ARV*, p. 705, no. 12), ascribed by Beazley to the Naples Painter, who "approximates to the group of Polygnotos." The krater would be-

long to the third quarter of the century.

In the grave with III 4 there was a red-figure bell krater (Pellegrini, *VF*, p. 160, fig. 92; Beazley, *op. cit.*, p. 697, no. 42), which Beazley places in the group of Polygnotos. This also would belong to the third quarter of the century.

IV 14 belongs to a group of objects from two graves, of which the contents were not kept separate. Both Ghirardini and Randall-MacIver thought that the two were closely contemporary, but this is highly questionable. The two skyphoi (*ML* X, pl. 5, no. 23; and *Iron Age in Italy*, pl. 5, no. 3) should belong to the fourth century and not the beginning of it; the kantharos, if its tongue pattern is accurately reproduced, should be among the later pieces in Group IV, but considerably earlier than the skyphoi. IV 26 belonged to a fairly definite grave-group, but the other pieces are Italic and receive rather than give chronological light.

One kantharos was found in a grave with a black-figure column krater (Bologna no. 50; *CVA* fasc. 2, pl. 27, 3-4; Haspels, *ABL*, p. 189), which Miss Haspels dates to the beginning of the fifth century, and a red-figure column krater (Bologna 229; Beazley, *ARV*, p. 362, no. 11), which Beazley ascribes to the Pan Painter and Miss Haspels reasonably places in the sixties. The three vases are shown in Zannoni, pl. 143. According to Pellegrini the kantharos is his no. 558, our IV 3 (pl. 33, fig. 10). As has already been noted, this piece does not correspond at all to Zannoni's picture, which clearly shows a narrow central band as in Group I. The ornament in this band is not shown and had presumably disappeared. In the broader zone below, Zannoni shows a single row of large diamonds. Apparently this does not correspond to anything now to be found in Bologna. Mme. Pincelli suggests that it was really a Group I kantharos, and that may be right; but one would hardly expect that a pattern so familiar would be misrepresented, even in a small and rough illustration; perhaps A 2 is more likely, if Pellegrini's provenience for it can be disregarded. The grave contained also an owl skyphos (Zannoni, p. 405; *Studies . . . Robinson* II, p. 102), but it has not been identified.

The fragments I 3 and IV 13 were found in the tilled upper soil in the necropolis of Passo

Marinaro at Camarina. Though there is no closed deposit, the various pieces found there are sufficiently homogeneous in apparent date to deserve some notice. Orsi (*ML* XIV, 897, 952) dates the earliest of them after 461, when Camarina was re-established after its destruction by Gelon in 484, and none seems later than the third quarter of the century.

The evidence from grave-groups is fairly good, as such evidence goes, for Groups I-III. III 3 and III 4 had companions that surely would belong to the third quarter of the century, and there is nothing that would indicate any other date for them. The companions of II 2 and II 3 are less clear in their testimony, but also point to the third quarter. As for Group I, 450 would be a reasonable *terminus ante quem* for two grave-groups, to which I 5, I 6 and I 7 belong. Of the other two grave-groups, one (containing I 4) would suggest a still earlier date, but is of doubtful value; the other (containing I 8) would belong to the third quarter, but this is not in opposition to the previous indications, since I 8 may well be later than most of Group I. Thus the grave-groups indicate that Group I, as a whole, is earlier than Groups II and III, which are contemporary; and, though the evidence is admittedly fallible, there is no reason to reject it. It could indeed be thought that the form, in Group II and perhaps in Group III, is less developed, especially as regards the rim, than in Group I; but, on the one hand, the vase parts of quite early head-vases have everted rims; and, on the other hand, A 4 and the pieces considered in connection with it show that elegance of form developed slowly in some quarters.

Contemporary with the main part of Group I would be A 1 and B 6; they were painted by one man, who also probably painted most of Group I. A 2 is also a close companion of Group I, and probably the kantharos in the grave-group with the Pan Painter's vase (Zannoni, pl. 143); as has been noted, this cannot be IV 3 and may possibly be A 2.

Group VII is brought to the end of the fifth century, and surely into the fourth, by the form of its skyphoi 7-9. (Compare, e.g., Robinson, *Olynthus* XIII, p. 309, pl. 200.) It is not

likely that any of its members are as early as 425. Group IX, associated with VII by vertical panels, dotless tongues, and grooved bases, is probably not only late but Apulian (*supra*, p. 196). The vertical panels appear also in VIII 1, where they influence the treatment of the feather pattern, and the grooved base of VIII 2 supports a late date for that group. A 3, with its grooved base and strongly flaring lip, should be late, though its remarkable feathers have no known parallel. It is thus indicated that the narrow central zone, which distinguishes Group I from the other large groups, appears in some quite late pieces. B 1 is another example of this, though it is hard to say just how late it is; the narrow, vertical panels suggest a connection with Group VII or better Group IX; the shape should be earlier than B 4. B 4 should not be earlier than 400, whether one considers the delicate laurel, divided into opposed halves, or the shape. (On shapes of skyphoi of Corinthian type, Corbett in *Hesperia* [1949] 318ff.) Its checkerboard pattern suggests that it is not too far in date from IX 3, as does the same pattern for C 2, though one will not rely much on checkerboards. The dotless tongues of B 2 tend to make it late, though in such a markedly abnormal piece the evidence has little cogency.

In Group VI, the contour of skyphos 9 shows the beginning of the double curve so conspicuous in Group VII. The dotless tongues in the same piece and in VI 1 (one row), as well as the grooved bases of two kantharoi, indicate the fourth quarter of the century as an approximate date for the group or for most of it. (For forms of skyphoi of this period cf. Corbett in *Hesperia* [1949] 317, pl. 85.)

For the large Group IV and the small Group V there is no external evidence on chronology, unless one derives a hint from Passo Marinaro (*supra*, p. 205), and no very striking internal evidence. From the form and the tongue pattern it is clear that V consorts with IV, with which it shares the laurel, rather than with II, with which it shares the feathers. Group IV, again according to form and tongues, leads on to Group VI. It is reasonable to suppose that IV began before 450, though not as early as I, and continued after 425, though not as late as VI.

Our suggestions on the chronology of the Saint-Valentin class are somewhat more detailed than those previously made, but do not conflict with the views of Beazley and others. We cannot agree with Lullies (*CVA* Munich, fasc. 2, p. 26) if he means to assign all the pieces on his pl. 94 to the first half of the fifth century; or with Eichler, when he places VII 5 a, as well as II 5 and VI 10, in the second quarter of the century.

Apparently the maker of the main part of Group I was the founder of the Saint-Valentin class. He invented the kantharos used in the class, taking a suggestion from the head-vases; he took the white ivy from the same source, and perhaps this source supplied also as much suggestion as he needed for the diamond pattern. For the tongue pattern the suggestion would apparently come from plastic pieces other than the head-vases. In the last element of Group I, the feather pattern, the degree of invention was about the same as in the diamonds, but the sources in pottery were different and more abundant.

In the whole class, or at least in Groups I-VIII, there is enough in common to indicate a considerable workshop relationship, but certainly several individuals are involved. At least one of them, the maker of the main part of Group II, modified the form in a way defensible from the standpoint of practicality, perhaps, but hardly otherwise. In general, the development of form went in the opposite direction, with increasing flare in the lip and decreasing height of the part below the handles as tangible, though not invariable, features. One is inclined to suspect, from the use of the tongue pattern, that there was a continuing connection between the Saint-Valentin class and the plastic vases.

The kantharos form and the type of ornament were apparently created with and for each other. The form is used occasionally without the ornament: Ure, *Black Glaze*, pl. 9, no. 23 (black); Bologna 565, Pellegrini, *VF*, p. 222, fig. 138 (red-figure and applied white); some with red-figure decoration mentioned by Beazley, *Campana Fragments*, p. 26, on pl. 19, no. 8. However, these cases probably represent borrowing from our class. Only after the Saint-

Valentin kantharoi were well established was the ornament transferred to skyphoi, of which the forms were entirely conventional.

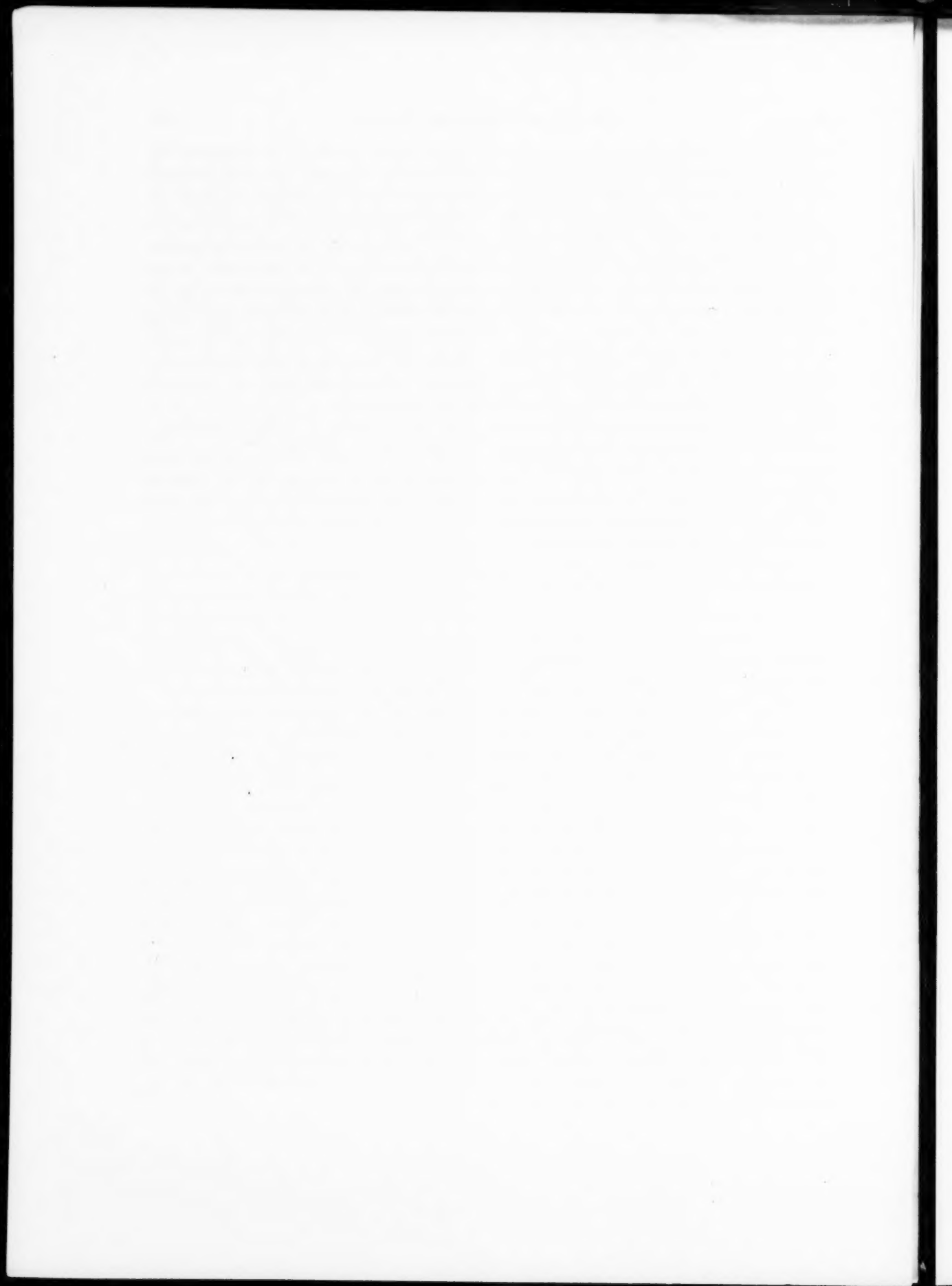
Miss Haspels (*ABL* p. 185) considered the possibility that the Saint-Valentin class was connected with the workshop of the Beldam Painter. Our study has brought out no support for this connection. On the other hand, we have been tempted to suggest that the class originated in the workshop of Brygos.

Among the plastic vases with tongue patterns, those decorated by the Brygos Painter are early and numerous, and in his other vases the painter finds opportunity for the pattern more often than most painters. In tracing the white ivy and the rings used in the chain pattern we come across the Brygos Painter, and some head-vases were painted by him (though not, it must be noted, those in which the handles particularly resemble those of the Saint-Valentin kantharoi). Turning to the vases signed by Brygos but apparently not painted by the Brygos Painter, we find in one (Hoppin, *HRF* I, p. 109;

Beazley, *ARV*, p. 258) a scale pattern for feathers, with the curve up, and diamonds within diamonds; in another (Hoppin I, p. 113; Beazley, p. 262) a scale pattern in armor, with the curve up, diamond patterns, and a variety of patterns, indicating an interest in pattern; in a third (Hoppin I, p. 116; Beazley, p. 268, Briseis Painter 22) a tongue pattern, though apparently without dots, below the echinus of a column, where it is not often found; in the fourth (Hoppin I, p. 115; Beazley, p. 262) a scale pattern for feathers, with the curve up, and two diamond patterns, one with diamonds within diamonds.

We do not profess to recognize in Group I the actual hand of the Brygos Painter or of any of the other painters, but it does not seem pure conjecture to suggest that the workshop of Brygos provided a favorable environment for the birth of the Saint-Valentin class.

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THE ORIGIN AND FUNCTION OF THE GORGON-HEAD

THALIA PHILLIES HOWE

PLATES 35-36

MODERN investigations into the origins of the Gorgon and gorgoneion have generally evolved around two kinds of rationalism, the zoological and the cosmological. Theorists of the former group, beginning with Levezow in 1832, concluded that the Gorgon concept originated in a fear of animals, probably in North Africa, the same region that had stocked the menagerie of Egyptian worship.¹ In the 20th century Gerojannis and Wolters favored the lion as the source of inspiration; A. B. Cook regarded the gorgoneion as "pointing back to an Owl-Athena"; Ridgeway argued that the gorgoneion-aegis was simply a modified goat-skin.² Zell and Facius, however, saw the Gorgons as adaptations of apes or gorillas, apparently basing their conclusions on the Elder Pliny's statement that the Gorgons were members of an excessively "hairy race."³ Pettazzoni regarded the Gorgon as anthropomorphic and deriving from the Egyptian goddess Hathor; Frothingham and Marinatos related her through Artemis to the Great Mother goddess of the East.⁴

Although most agreed that the Gorgon and gorgoneion originated in fear, particularly of animals, Weizsäcker contended that the early, bearded gorgoneion was Phobos, Fear personified. His theory plainly did not hold when Blinkenberg applied it to Gorgons with female torsos who also wore bearded faces of the kind that Weizsäcker had indicated as Phobos.⁵ Blinkenberg himself reverted to the limited view that believed the lion was the source.

It was the psychologist Wilhelm Wundt who first recognized the universal aspects of the gorgoneion and its true meaning: a mask deriving from an admixture of animalistic features and of a type common to most primitive cultures. In addition, H. J. Rose realized that the Gorgon arose from the subconscious fears of man and described it as a "pursuing nightmare phantom."⁶

¹ K. Levezow "Ueber die Entwicklung des Gorgonen-Ideals in der Poesie und bildenden Kunst der Alten," *AbhBerl* 2,1 (1832).

² K. Gerojannis *JntArNum* 9 (1906) 8ff. P. Wolters "Ein Apotropaion aus Baden" *BonnJbb* 118 (1909) 270ff. A. Cook *Zeus* (Cambridge, 1914-40) 3,1 p. 844. W. Ridgeway *JHS* 20 (1900) XLIV.

³ A. Zell *Riesen der Tierwelt* (1910) p. 193. J. Facius *Miscell. zur Gesch.* p. 138, n. 16. Diodorus Siculus regarded the Gorgons as a tribe of Libyan women, drawing on the *Kyklos* of Skytobrachion. C. G. Heyne *De Font. Hist. Diodori* (1793) 1, p. LXVII. Pliny the Elder repeated Diodorus' version, adding the hairy description and telling how the hides of two Gorgons had been destroyed at Carthage by the Romans, *N.H.* 6,36. Athenaeus *Deipn.* 5,64. reports how Marius' soldiers in the Jugurthan campaign caught and skinned some Gorgons.

⁴ R. Pettazzoni "Le origini della testa di Medusa" *BdA* ser. 2,1 (1921) 491-510. A. Frothingham "Medusa, Apollo and the Great Mother" *AJA* 15 (1911) 349-377, esp. p. 364. S. Marinatos "Γοργόρες Καὶ Γοργόρεα" *Ephem* (1927/8) 7-41.

⁵ P. Weizsäcker s.v. "Phobos" in Roscher's *Lex* 3,2 (1909), pp. 2393ff. C. Blinkenberg "Gorgone et Lionne" *RA* ser. 5, 19 (1924) 267ff.

⁶ W. Wundt *Völkerpsychologie* 3 (Leipzig, 1919) 212ff. H. Rose *Handbook of Greek Mythology* (London, 1928) pp. 29-30. S. Marinatos *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 4) p. 77. The ancient author who came closest to regarding the three sister Gorgons as Terrores was Fulgentius 1, 657 (xxi) (ed. R. Helm *Fabii Planciades Fulgentii Opera* 1, Leipzig, 1898). With his usual gift for concocting etymologies, Fulgentius interpreted them thus: Stheno as "astenian infirmitatem," which weakens the mind; Euryale (the wide-leaper) as "lata profunditas," which scatters the mind; and Medusa as "quasi medusam," which brings on mental blindness. Fulgentius ends on the moral note: "Hos ergo terrores Perseus adiuvante Minerva, id est virtus adiuvante sapientia, interfecit."

The second group of naturalistic rationalists, mainly of the 19th century, explained the Gorgon by other physical phenomena: Völcker believed she represented the terrors of the sea; Hermann, the ocean waves; Otto, volcanic eruptions; and Hug, the empty wastes of Libya. A large number, with Gaedechens as chief proponent, regarded the gorgoneion as a moon-symbol, and based their evidence on a remark of Clement of Alexandria that the Orphics called the moon "gorgoneion" because of the face one could see in it. As Farnell states, this description was suggested by the prominently rounded, but primarily late representations of the gorgoneion.⁷

The most authoritative interpretation was proposed by Roscher in his study, *Die Gorgonen und Verwandtes*, where he maintained that the Gorgons were Storm-clouds.⁸ He based his conclusions on the Sanskrit stem of the name "Gorgon," "garḡ," which has connotations of noise that he interpreted as thunder. Whereas the etymologists Boisacq and Meyer agree that "Gorgon" is derived from that stem, at no point do their interpretations allow for storms.⁹

The Germanic and Romance languages also have numerous derivatives from this stem, and though all refer to the throat or to the guttural, gurgling noises produced in it, none connotes thunder any more than does the root itself.¹⁰ Even the musical ramification of the stem denotes a faking kind of singing known as "gargling," which in turn closely parallels the idea Pindar sings of in the *12th Pythian*, the ode dedicated to a flute-player:¹¹

"I beseech thee also to welcome himself, as champion over all Hellas in that art, which Pallas Athene invented when she wove into music the dismal death-dirge of the Gorgons bold,—the dirge, that Perseus heard, while it was poured forth, amid direful woe, from beneath those maidens' awful serpent-heads, what time he did to death the third of those sisters three . . ."

and further on:

"But when the maiden goddess had released her liege-man [Perseus] from these labours, she essayed to invent the many-voiced music of flutes, that so, by aid of music, she might

⁷ For the best summary of these, s.v. "Gorgo" in Ersch and Grueber *Allgemeine Encyc. d. Wissens. Künste* 74 (1862) pp. 397-398; 401-403. The supporters of Gaedechens's thesis, pp. 397-398 included: Avellino, Hahn, Cavedoni, Panofka, Duc de Luynes, Stackelberg, Preller, Minervini, Schwenck, Beulé, Fr. Hermann. Clem. Al. *Stromata* 5.8.49 (ed. O. Stachlin 2, Leipzig, 1906, p. 360). H. Diels *Vorsokrat.* 2 (Berlin, 1951) 1, p. 18, Orpheus 1 (66) fr. 22. L. Farnell *Cults of the Greek States* (Oxford, 1896) p. 286, n. 5.

⁸ W. Roscher "Die Gorgonen und Verwandtes" *Stud. z. griech. Myth. u. Kultur* (Leipzig, 1879), chs. 2-4, and pp. 114ff.; s.v. "Gorgo" in his *Lex.* 1 (1884-90) pp. 1695-1727, which is based on his earlier study.

⁹ É. Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Lang. grec.* 4 (Heidelberg, 1950). Leo Meyer *Handb. d. Gr. Etym.* (Leipzig, 1901) 3, p. 45 describes it thus: ". . . er brüllt, tobt, von Thieren, Dämonen, übermüthig herausfordernden Menschen, vom Meere, Winde; abhi-garḡ, anbrüllen, wild herausfordernd anschreien." Die Bildung von Γοργῶ stimmt überein mit der von ἤχῳ, alt *ḡḡḡḡ. Schall, Wiederhall. "ἤχῳ" means not only "echo," a shadow of a sound, but a "ringing sound" as well. Two other etymologies have been suggested: R. Eilmann *AM* 58 (1933) 95, who derives it from "Coryra." Also J. Jongkees *JEOL* 7 (1940) 429-432 from "Karkisa," or "Karia" in Asia Minor.

¹⁰ Greek offers "γαργαρίζω," "to gargle." But it is Latin and the modern languages which emphasize with striking consistency the mouth and throat and the noises produced by these, especially of the crude and unspoken kind: Latin offers: "gargarisma, gargarizatio, gargarismatum, gargarizatus, gargarissare"; French: "gargouillis, gargouille, gargouillade, gorgotage (ill-dressed victuals that stick in the throat), gorge, gargouiller, gargariser, gorgoter"; Spanish: "garganta, gargola, garguero, gargajeo, gargantear, gargara"; Italian: "gargaliata, gargatta, gargaliare, gargarizzare"; German: "Gurgel, Gurgelei, Gurgelwasser, gurgeln"; English: "gargoyle, gorge, gorget, gorgerin, gurgle" and among obscure words listed in the *Oxford English Dict.*: "gargareon, gargarism, gar-get, gargil, gargilon, gargolette." One must not forget the creature *Gargantua* who is described as the "large-mouthed voracious giant" in Rabelais. Shakespeare in *As You Like It*, 3.2.238 says: "You must borrow me Gargantua's mouth first."

¹¹ Pindar *P.* 12.6ff. Translated by J. Sandys *The Odes of Pindar* (London, 1937) p. 311 notes: "So called because it imitates the hisses of the many serpents entwined in the Gorgon's hair." O. Schröder *Hermes* 39 (1904) 315ff., suggests that, although this tune may refer to the serpent-headed Gorgons, it probably represented the variety of rhythm and content of the "tune of Athena," which was a counterpart of the famous Pythian tune. L. Farnell *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 7) 1, pp. 315-316.

imitate the cry exceeding shrill that burst from the ravening jaws of Euryale [one of the Gorgons]."

When musical imagination refined that guttural sound implicit in the ancient and modern derivatives of "garḡ," it was produced not by plucking or beating, but with breath blown into a narrow reed, a second throat attached to the real one. The noise was organic, sometimes animal-like, sometimes human, and even when instrumental it was still produced by breath in conjunction with a throat, in this case an inorganic one. To be sure, thunder rumbles and growls in a summer-storm, but it is not the sound consistently implied by "garḡ" and its derivatives.

Admittedly, such etymological interpretations of names too often lead the scholar astray, but in this particular instance the evidence seems large, and what is more important, consistent enough to lend credence. This interpretation gains further validity from the evidence of the pictorial representations which also bear out the idea of noise — noise without reference to storms. It is purely for this sonant reason that the Gorgon appears on monuments with a great distended mouth — to convey to the spectator the idea of a terrifying roar.

So far the evidence disposes of the thunder part of Roscher's interpretation, but not necessarily of the lightning aspect, which he believed was symbolized by the flashing eyes of the Gorgon.¹² However, the passages Roscher cites from Homer as evidence, do not verify his statements.¹³ This is also true of all the Homeric

references to the Gorgon.¹⁴ Nor do the Hesiodic poems substantiate this stormy interpretation.¹⁵ There are, in fact, no such connotations in any of the works of even later antiquity.¹⁶

Roscher's other evidence for the origin of the Gorgons in Storm-clouds can also be refuted. It does not signify, for example, that the Gorgons and Storm-clouds were kin-folk simply because legend had them cohabiting the "westernmost regions of the sea."¹⁷ In addition, the Gorgons were adorned with snakes not because of their relationship to Athena as storm-goddess,

¹⁴ *Il.* 5, 738 ff. *Od.* 11, 634 ff.

¹⁵ *Shield of Herakles* 216 ff.

¹⁶ On checking over some 15 epithets applied to the Gorgon, all that could be gleaned from ancient descriptions, not one implies storm phenomena, etymologically or otherwise. Roscher himself reveals, or so it would seem, how he was led astray in designating the Gorgons as "Gewitterwolken," when he says (*op. cit.*, *supra* n. 8 *Stud. z. gr. Myth.* p. 14, 63 ff.; *Lex.* 1, 2 p. 1699): "Wie das deutsche Wort 'Blitz' nach Grimm ursprünglich einen feurigen Blick (vgl. auch unser 'Silberblick') bezeichnet so fasten auch die Griechen den Blitz vielfach als den leuchtenden Blick entweder der über Blitz und Donner gebietenden Götter Zeus und Athene oder eines entsetzlichen Ungeheuers auf. Aus keinem anderen Grunde wurden die schrecklichen Augen und der furchtbare Blick der Gorgo (*Il.* 9, 349; *A.* 36) schon von Homer besonders hervorgehoben." As the etymologists Kluge and Goetze and also Grimm (whom Roscher cites) point out, the "Blitz," "lightning," and "Blick," "look" of the German had the same stem, so that "Blitz" could with perfect reason be regarded literally as a "flashing look" (Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm *Deutsches Wörterbuch* Leipzig, 1860. Fr. Kluge und Alfred Goetze *Etym. Wörterbuch d. deutschen Sprach* Berlin, 1951). But the same cognate relationship simply does not hold for the Greek "ἀστραπή," "lightning," and for whichever of the three Greek words, "ἔψις," "δέργμα," "βλέμμα," Roscher may have had in mind for "look" but did not specify (*op. cit.* n. 8 *Stud. z. gr. Myth.* p. 13, ch. 1; *Lex.* 1, 2 p. 1699). In any case, none of these three Greek words is derived from any root that denotes fire, flashing or lightning. Hence, any analogy between the Greek and German is invalid. Roscher must have been so imaginatively impressed by the single source of origin in German for the two words "Blitz" and "Blick" that he carried the image over into the Greek and erroneously characterized the Gorgon with these aspects of thunder and lightning.

¹⁷ Hesiod *Theog.* 270 ff. H. Evelyn-White *Homerica* (New York, 1914) Cypria, fr. 21, p. 505. In Aeschylus *Prometheus* 790 ff., the Gorgons live in the eastern lands, in the plains of Cisthene.

¹² W. Roscher *Stud. z. Gr. Myth.* *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 8) pp. 13 ff., 46 ff., 71 ff.

¹³ W. Roscher *Stud. z. gr. Myth.* *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 8) pp. 73 ff. *Il.* 8, 348: "Γοργούς δ' ἔχων ἥδ' ἐβροτολογίου ἄρτος." and *Il.* 11, 36 ff., in the description of the shield of Agamemnon: "τῇ δ' ἐπὶ μὲν Γοργῶν βλοσυρῶπις ἐστεφάνωτο δεινὸν δερκομένη, περὶ δὲ Δείμωι τε Φόβοι τε." "βλοσυρῶπις" simply denotes a "bristling look," or, if "ἔψις" is interpreted as "face," it can also mean a "hairy appearance," descriptive of the Gorgon's beard. "δέρκομαι" means "to look, have sight" and expresses the eyes' flash or gleam; its Sanskrit root "darṣ," "to see," refers not merely to sight but to sharp sight. Sharp eyes may have a flashing brilliance, but that quality has no physical connection with lightning.

but because all their relatives (as well as the Greek theogony) swarm with them.¹⁸ Nor are the black garments, which Roscher claims the Gorgons wore (although his reference is really to the Eumenides), a valid indication of Storm-clouds.¹⁹ Similarly, Roscher finds analogies in the fact that the Gorgons number three, as do the Storm-clouds, according to his argument. One scarcely need go into the common recurrence of such triads in every folk culture to realize how meaningless is his point.²⁰ Finally, Roscher does seem to have one valid bit of evidence when, in the *Theogony*, Hesiod speaks of the Gorgon's offspring, the winged horse Pegasus, and how "... he dwells in the house of Zeus and brings to wise Zeus the thunder and lightning."²¹ But these stormy phenomena already belong to Zeus the god of the heavens, and not to Pegasus who merely shepherds them for his master; even less do they belong to his monstrous mother.

It is clear that some terrible noise was the originating force behind the Gorgon: a guttural, animal-like howl that issued with a great

wind from the throat and required a hugely distended mouth, while the tongue, powerless to give coherence, hung down to the jaw. So dominant was the idea of the noise and the face that, at first, no one gave thought to a body with normal arms and legs. But how did this menacing mask first arise and what was the meaning of its horrible outcry?

In contriving this mask the Greeks did what primitive peoples normally do in making such frightful masks: they gave expression to their fears, and by the act of expressing, conquered these fears, which in this case were specifically of beasts of prey. Thus the gorgoneion was simply an expression of the terror the lonely wanderer felt in the beast-haunted night, and though solely of imaginative origin, the head was given this generalized animal-like form. But once such a mask was in the grip of men's hands, by the very process of being fashioned into a mask, this terror of lonely, preying places began to abate. Thus the gorgoneion, the mask, was a symbol of human aggression, and as such the first step in overcoming the original, man-created fear. It is also important to remember that the expression of it took the form not only of a flat drawing, but of a mask, a third-dimensional object that was meant to be worn. For through the depersonalization that is permitted by the wearing of such a protome, man can vicariously experience the animality which first frightened him. Thus he understands, and in understanding he learns how to control. But the experience has to be felt with more than naturalistic vividness, an effect which the realistic reproduction of a familiar animal or form can not produce. So it is, that even when a specific animal is adapted to a mask, there must be present distortion, roaring noise, exaggeration and malformation usually through multiplicity of color and stark, horrifying composite forms, all incorporated in a grotesque enlargement of the fear that must be worked off.²² In the *Iliad* therefore, where only the first stage of the Gorgon, as gorgoneion, appears, the head has Terror and Rout as its companion-pieces

¹⁸ W. Roscher *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 8) *Lex.* 1.2 p. 1699; *Stud. z. gr. Myth.* p. 14. Keto bore to Phorkys the Gorgons with their snaky locks and girdles; she bore the great reptile which guarded the Garden of the Hesperides; and the monster Echidna, half nymph and half snake, who in turn bore the Chimæra who was one-third snake.

¹⁹ W. Roscher *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 8) *Lex.* 1.2 pp. 1696, 1700; *Stud. z. gr. Myth.* pp. 15, 88ff., 97ff. Aischylos *Choephoroi* 1048ff. In not a single monument is the Medusa rendered in black. The ones of the Corcyraean pediments, for example, wear the bright colors of archaic taste. G. Rodenwaldt *Die Bildwerke des Artemistempels von Korkyra* (Berlin, 1939) 2, pp. 23-42. In one vase painting representing a scene from the *Phorkides* of Aischylos the Medusa is not dressed in black, though curiously enough, the other Gorgons and Perseus are. L. Séchan *Études sur la tragédie grecque dans ses rapports avec la céramique* (Paris, 1926) fig. 35. A. Dumont in *Mons. Grecs* 1 (1878) pl. 2, pp. 15ff.

²⁰ W. Roscher *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 8) *Lex.* 1.2 p. 1700; *Stud. z. gr. Myth.* pp. 15, 105ff. E. Loewy "Ursprünge der bildenden Kunst" *Akad. der Wissens. in Wien* (1930) 8ff., discusses this repetitive element in Greek art and deduces that it was used simply for accumulative effect since three Gorgons would be thrice as fearful as one.

²¹ W. Roscher *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 8) *Stud. z. gr. Myth.* pp. 16, 114-120; *Lex.* 1.2 p. 1701. Hesiod *Th.* 285ff.

²² I am indebted to Meyer Schapiro for this interpretation of masks made during a lecture. E. Loewy *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 20) pp. 4ff.

on the aegis of Athena and the shield of Agamemnon. When used on such defensive armor the gorgoneion was plainly meant as apotropaism, a horror to avert horror.²³

Such, in all probability, was also the origin of other Greek mask-types that have survived since Cretan and later times, both as actual protomes or simply as decorations on all kinds of objects.²⁴ Frequently these early ones have been enthusiastically identified as gorgoneia, although on careful examination they differ markedly from each other and from the traditional head of the Gorgon as it appears, for example, on the Corcyraean pediment or on the countless little gorgoneia of Attic and Corinthian art. Yet, it is possible that some of these early heads were intended as gorgoneia.²⁵ Furtwängler suggests a logical explanation to the question of these borderline types, when he points out that although Homer mentions four gorgoneia, he never actually describes these.²⁶ This would imply, therefore, that even in his time the gorgoneion was only a generalized notion, the features of which did not as yet have a specific and commonly recognizable formulation. Normally then, with only a general idea

in mind, each artist formed what to him was a fearful, animal-like face, monstrous and usually open-mouthed. But there are so many variations possible on this general concept that it took a few centuries before the traditional image was developed. This formulation does not appear until very early in the 7th century B.C. when, suddenly, example after example can be shown of a single image so individual that even though some examples may have beards or horns or fangs and others do not, they are all unmistakably gorgoneia.

Of the earliest incontestable gorgoneia on monuments, four are Protocorinthian (pl. 35, fig. 1);²⁷ the fifth is attached to the body of a female centaur adorning a Boeotian pithos (pl. 35, fig. 2);²⁸ and the last head, on a Rhodian plate, decks a figure of Artemis draped and posed as Potnia Theron, Mistress of Beasts (pl. 35, fig. 3).²⁹ Deducing from these rare and unusual figures, we are led to believe that the Gorgon, although familiar enough to the poets, did not as yet have a distinctive, visualized form so that the early artists had to improvise

²³ *Op. cit.* (supra n. 13).

²⁴ P. Kabbadias *Fouilles de Lykosoura* (Athens, 1893) pl. 4. A. Furtwängler *Antike Gemmen* (Leipzig, 1900) 1, pl. 2 #30-35. R. Bosanquet *BSA* 12 (1905/6) 338ff., fig. 5-9. R. Dawkins *BSA* 13 (1906/7) 105. G. Dickins *BSA* 13 (1906/7) 372ff., pl. 14. M. Pieber *Griechische Kleidung* (Berlin, 1928) p. 68, pl. 34, 1-2. A. Wace *AJA* 38 (1934) 107ff., pl. 10. A. Evans *Palace of Minos* (London, 1935) 4.2 p. 593, figs. 329, 365-6. M. Bieber *Greek and Roman Theater* (London, 1939) pp. 33-35, figs. 36-8; s.v. "Maske" *RE* 14.2 pp. 2070ff. M. Nilsson *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion* (Lund, 1950) pp. 376ff. Athenaeus *Deipn.* 10, 425c. Ar. *Lys.* 645 and scholia.

²⁵ For example: 8th century scrawl on a warrior's shield in a Melian vase painting, A. Conze *Melische Tongefässe* (Leipzig, 1862) pl. 3. H. Besig *Gorgo und Gorgoneion* (Berlin, 1937) p. 17 regards a head from Tiryns as earliest, and next, one on a Theban bronze, A little more acceptable as a gorgoneion is the face on an ivory seal from Sparta, R. Dawkins *BSA* 13 (1906/7) 91ff., fig. 25c. A. Furtwängler regards as the earliest monetary representation of a gorgoneion one on a Euboic stater, *op. cit.* (supra n. 24) p. 170. P. Gardner *Types* (Cambridge, 1883) pl. 4.5. B. Head *Br. Mus. Guide to Principal Coins of Ancients* (London, 1889) pl. 1.4 p. 4.

²⁶ *Il.* and *Od.* references *op. cit.* (supra n. 13, 14).

²⁷ The four Protocorinthian gorgoneia: On a vase in the shape of a lion protome, P. Orsi *NS* (1893) 470ff. H. Friis Johansen *Les Vases sicyoniens* (Paris, 1923) pp. 157, 190 pl. 41.5. H. Payne *Necrocorinthia* (Oxford, 1931) pp. 80ff., fig. 23a. See pl. 35, fig. 1a. On the Macmillan aryballos the gorgoneion was a handle ornament, Cecil Smith *JHS* 10 (1890) pl. 1.2 pp. 167ff. H. F. Johansen pl. 31, 1c. H. Payne p. 81, fig. 23b. See pl. 35, fig. 1b. Gorgoneion as a shield device on the Chigi oinochoe, *AntDenk* 2 (1908) pl. 44. H. F. Johansen pl. 39, 1b; *Ausonia* 8 (1913) 104ff., pl. 6.7. H. Payne p. 80, fig. 23c. See pl. 35, fig. 1c. Aryballos from Gela, H. F. Johansen pl. 34.2.

²⁸ The Boeotian pithos Gorgon, Louvre *CA* 795. A. De Ridder *BCH* 22 (1898) 439ff., 497ff., pls. 4-5. R. Hampe *Frühe griechische Sagenbilder* (Athens, 1936) pp. 56-73, pls. 36, 38, R. I. L. Maltin *JDAI* 29 (1914) 182ff., fig. 3. F. Courby *Les Vases grecs à reliefs* (Paris, 1922) pl. 3.2, fig. 16c. B. Filow *Die archaische Nekropole von Trebenische* (Berlin, 1927) fig. 39. E. Buschor *AJA* 38 (1934) 130. H. Besig *op. cit.* (supra n. 25) p. 73. J. Woodward *Perseus* (Cambridge, 1937) pp. 31-32, fig. 3a,b. F. Grace *Archaic Sculptures in Boeotia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1939) pp. 16ff.

²⁹ The Rhodian Gorgon-Artemis, *JHS* 6 (1885) 277-278, pl. 49. G. Radet "Cybèle" *Bibl. d. Univ. Midi* (1909) fasc. 13, p. 45, fig. 59. H. Frothingham *AJA* 15 (1911) 369, fig. 8. E. Buschor *Greek Vase Paintings* (London, 1921) pl. 30, fig. 59. K. Gerojannis *Ephem* (1927/8) 154, fig. 5.

a bodily appearance and costume for her out of attributes temporarily borrowed from the local divinities with whom she was associated.

Thus, for example, the Boeotians in the early 7th century B.C. were unique in regarding the Gorgon not only as a centaur-maiden, but as attractive, with dainty breasts and hands and an almost human face. In fact she is so startlingly untraditional that it is mainly by the Perseus depicted in the act of beheading her that she can be identified with certainty. But her curious equine form and her attractions can be explained by the fact that her consort was Poseidon, the chief deity of Boeotia, who was worshipped locally as Hippios, God of Horses, rather than as God of the Sea.³⁰ For his greater pleasure, the local Gorgon was given this centaur guise, and out of their union was born the youth Chrysaor and the winged horse Pegasus.³¹ It is easy to understand how Hippios was given the Gorgon for his lover: in his lusty, equine aspect this god, who was himself the father of monsters, mated readily with her wild, animal nature. Indeed, only an aggressive force, one more dominant than hers, could master the Gorgon. And in the meadows, amidst the shining flowers of spring, even as Hesiod describes their union, the wildest of fears subsides and becomes tractable.³²

It is also probable that from this temporary union with Poseidon the Gorgon received the epithet of "Medusa," "Guardian, Goddess," which occurs first in Hesiod, the poet of Boeotia. Poseidon's name signifies "Lord, Master," but her new title, as Gruppe suggests, most likely came from one of his other titles, "Eury-medon," "the wide-ruling one," of which "Medusa" is the shortened, feminine form.³³

³⁰ L. Farnell *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 7) 4, pp. 18ff.

³¹ L. Malten *JDAI* 29 (1914) 184. Another such equine union occurred between Poseidon and the Thelpusan Demeter of Arcadia, and their offspring was the horse Arcion. Paus. 7,25,4ff.; 8,37,9; 8,42,4 and Frazer's commentary on this.

³² Hesiod *Th.* 278ff.

³³ O. Gruppe *Griechische Mythologie* in I. Mueller *Handbuch d. Altertumswissen.* (1906) 2, p. 1141. E. Meyer *Griechische Etymologie* 4, 326. Cornutus *De Natura Deorum* 22. A. Fick-Bechtel *Gr. Personnamen*² (Göttingen, 1894) p. 458. K. Gerojanis believed that

At most, this appellation was a courtesy, a gracious reminder of the favors once bestowed by a god. There does not seem to be any evidence, certainly not in Boeotia, that the Gorgon was ever a "ruler" in her own right, or a goddess, not even when she was mated with Poseidon. Yet, though never more than a demon, she enjoyed her days of vigorous belief if not of formal worship. "Medusa," therefore, was less a proper designation than a cautious euphemism for this monster, this Fear that still persisted.

If the gorgoneion mask, as the tangible configuration, represented the first step in the overcoming of this Fear, then, as Hesiod and his followers and the Boeotian artist testify, the second stage was her decapitation by Perseus, who beheaded the beast and ran for his life. But at the same time, the Boeotians also set the god Poseidon to cope with her, and as a god he easily became the master of her wild nature. Both the mating by the god and the beheading by the demi-god were parallel expressions of attempts to divert her demonic power and horror.

So intense was belief in the Gorgon in the early 7th century that she went beyond the mere status of consort and became still further identified with deity. On the aforementioned Rhodian plate, garbed as Potnia Theron the monster wears a long, black, girdled chiton that is slit to expose the left, advanced leg; from her shoulders extends a double pair of long, curving wings; the face, unmistakably gorgoneion, is square, strongly bearded, and has a protruding tongue; and in her hands she holds a pair of long-necked birds.³⁴ If one removes only the unmistakably Gorgon face, what remains belongs normally to Artemis in her role of Mistress of Beasts. Now it is of fundamental importance to realize that such external resemblance can only arise out of some internal affinity. Artemis, the popular goddess of Greek rustic worship, was wild nature personified and deified, as her titles, Potnia Theron, and, Agrotera, readily confirm. Homer also referred

the epithet was a mere euphemism for the Gorgon, *Ephem* (1927/8) 144.

³⁴ Rhodian plate Gorgon, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 29).

to her as "Keladeine," "the noisy, echoing one." In older belief she was the mistress, not the huntress, but the protector of wild beasts, especially of the very young and those in travail.³⁵ Thus it was a simple matter for the Gorgon and her animality to become identified with the Mistress of Animals. Once the internal affinity was established, the detached and unincorporated gorgoneion could be tacked on to the external form of Artemis.³⁶

But it was not the original concept of the Gorgon, as Fear of Animals, that was equated with Artemis; it was the Gorgon in her second and more important, *apotropaic* phase, as an animal fear that has been overcome and diverted to fend off other fears. In that aspect she functioned as benevolently as did the goddess herself in protecting the people. The union, moreover, was reciprocal for, while the Gorgon borrowed shelter and honors, as at the Temple of Artemis at Corcyra, the goddess appropriated the popular enthusiasm the monster engendered.

The extant examples representing the Gorgon-Artemis, though few, appear on monuments from widely scattered places, indicative of the range of this belief: from Rhodes (but with possible manufacture at Miletos), from Sparta and Euboea in Greece itself, from the island of Corcyra and, finally, Orvieto in Italy as the westernmost locality.³⁷ By comparison, the unique centaur-Gorgon of Boeotia seems like a local idiosyncrasy.

It was, in fact, in the entourage of Artemis at Corcyra in the early 6th century that the Gorgon attained her apogee. In the very center of both pediments of the goddess's temple stood a colossal Medusa, the chief ornament of the edifice (pl. 35, fig. 4).³⁸ In this period, although the supremacy of the Olympians was acknowledged by the very fact that the temples were erected in their names, the gable decorations betrayed the other popular beliefs, ones that were very probably more important in the minds of the inhabitants of each locality.³⁹ For example, on the west pediment of this temple of Artemis three distinctly different themes were represented which to us have no logical schematic unity but which symbolized the triad of beliefs that absorbed the Greeks of that period: the literary interest, represented by the Homeric figure of Priam slain by Neoptolemos; the Olympian religion, represented by a tiny Zeus slaying a giant; and superstitious belief, in the Gorgon and flanking animals. From the outstanding size and station of the Gorgon it is obvious that the demonic element predominated. This is evidenced further by the fact that she is not shown at the mercy of the hero, who, indeed, is not even included. Moreover, her great head still sits squarely on her shoulders even though she holds the children that presumably sprang from her severed neck.

Although the gorgoneion, rather than the Gorgon, was the original element in the myth,

³⁵ *Il.* 21,470; 16,183. Xen. *H.G.* 4,2,20. Paus. 1,19,6; 1,41,3; 5,15,8; 7,26,3; 8,32,4. As goddess of wild nature: O. Kern *Die Rel. d. Griechen* (Berlin 1926) 1, pp. 101, 105, 111. W. Otto *Die Götter Griechenlands*² (Frankfurt, 1934) 102ff. M. Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.*² (Lund, 1950) p. 503. L. Farnell *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 7) 2, pp. 427ff.

³⁶ Frothingham, who made a comparison between the Gorgon and Artemis on external grounds, did not explain their inner relationships. To him the Gorgon was the sun-disk, "Medusa, Apollo and the Great Mother" *AJA* 15 (1911) 349ff. But he cites only one example of the Gorgon as such, from a vase of Cornetto in the *Blacas Coll.* fig. 10. K. Levezow *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) pl. 2,21. It is a circular head with snakes ringing it, which he regards as a "nimbus."

³⁷ For Rhodian Gorgon-Artemis example, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 29). Spartan examples: R. Dawkins *BSA* 13 (1906/7) 44, 77, 83, fig. 19. This has been restored with wings;

possibly she had a double pair. Bosanquet *BSA* 12 (1905/6) 340, pl. 11a. Euboean example: E. Niki *RA* ser. 6,1 (1933) 147, fig. 1a. Orvieto offers a unique example of a male Gorgon of Etruscan make: G. Körte *AZ* 35 (1877) 110ff., pl. 11. A photograph of the original, obtained through the kindness of Enrico Paribeni, verifies the accuracy of Körte's drawing. For Corcyraean example: *op. cit.* (n. 38).

³⁸ G. Rodenwaldt *Korkyra* (Berlin, 1939) 2, pls. 1-9, figs. 3-29; *Die altdorische Bildwerke in Korfu* (Berlin, 1938) pl. 10-15. It is the west gable that is largely extant, but enough fragments remain of the east gable to make possible the identification of the Gorgon: *Korkyra* 2, pp. 108ff., figs. 94-97.

³⁹ It was not before the middle of the 6th century B.C. that the themes of the pedimental decorations were concerned mainly with divine personages, as a survey of even the small poros temples built in Athens in the first half of the 6th century will prove.

the Greeks, not realizing that fact, soon after its appearance reasoned that it must have belonged to a figure which had been decapitated. We have seen their efforts to "restore" her bodily appearance, thus creating the Gorgon. They then found it necessary to devise some slayer responsible for the decapitation. At this point the question arises as to the role of Perseus: was this great hero originally a mere afterthought, the rationalization of an event that, even mythically speaking, never took place?

Sometimes a name points like a vane in the direction of origin, as was true for example in the Gorgon's case. Perseus' name, too, reveals his origins with the simplest candour. Boisacq derives it from the aorist form of the verb "πέριθεν," which is given by Liddell and Scott as: "1. to waste, ravage, sack. 2. of persons, to destroy, slay." He derived the verb from the Sanskrit "bardh-aka-h," "to cut, trim, prune, shave."⁴⁰ Buttman and Pott agreed that this verb was the source, but Wilamowitz opposed it, claiming that Perseus "destroyed" nothing. Bieler, however, made out the hero as the "Destroyer of Cities," as well as the decapitator of the Gorgon.⁴¹ Apparently these two regarded only the first aspect of the verb and ignored the second, "to slay," which was used in connection with persons. Furthermore, the Sanskrit stem, which denotes a destruction by cutting, describes perfectly the central action of the myth.

Perseus, as the "Cutter," is depicted in the very act of cutting off the head of the Gorgon on the two earliest known representations of him, on the aforementioned Boeotian pithos, and on an Attic bronze fragment, both of the early 7th century. Later representations very rarely depicted him as actually beheading her, but more commonly, as fleeing after having done so. It is curious that on the Attic fragment Perseus decapitates her with a sickle while

at the same time he wears a sword. This may simply indicate the hero's emergence from peasant belief; although in Athens he was apparently rising to the status of one important enough to own a sword, normally he was still more at home with the lowly sickle.⁴²

Some scholars, finding no solution in etymology,⁴³ have attempted to see the Perseus-Gorgon

⁴² Boeotian pithos: *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 28). The Attic bronze fragment: R. Hampe "Korfügebel und frühe Perseusbilder" *AM* 60/61 (1935/6) 286-287, pl. 98. *JHS* 13 (1892) 262. W. H. Ward *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* (Washington, 1910) p. 163, claims that the sickle and scimitar of similar shape were originally a snake motif that was changed or evolved into a weapon. He states that the conception of a serpent-weapon is also indicated by the Babylonian caduceus. In Perseus' case it hardly seems necessary to look for elaborate influences, either oriental or from fertility cults, to explain his use of the sickle. It was a commonplace object, a tool and weapon that hung on the wall of every house of the period.

⁴³ For other etymological interpretations of the name "Perseus," both ancient and modern: The ancients believed that Perseus had some connections with Persia, but since his own name did not mean specifically "the Persian," they invented a son for him, "Perses," whose name was interpreted as such. This was patently forced since the name appears in Greek literature (as Hesiod's brother, for example) before the historical rise of the Persians. But the rapid rise of this empire, within a single generation, brought speculations that involved this nation with Greek legend so that Skylax of Caryanda, Aischylos, Hellanikos and Herodotos connected Perseus with Persia. A. Pers. 79. K. Tümpel *Jahrb. f. class. Philol. suppl.* 16 (1888) p. 155, believed that Skylax of Caryanda was the first to identify Perseus with the Persians. Hellanikos: *FHG* 1, p. 67 fr. 159, 160. *FGHHist* 1,4 fr. 59, 60, and commentary. St. Byz. s.v. 'Απράια and Χαλδαίος. K. Mueller regards Hellanikos as the source for this idea, *FHG* 3, p. 365 fr. 13. *FGHHist* 2, p. 90, fr. 6. Hdt. 7,61. Apollod. *Bibliotheca* 2,4,5. Eust. *Schol. Dionys. Perig.* 1056. O. Gruppe *Gr. Myth.* (Munich, 1897-1906) 1, 387,1. J. Marquart *Philologus* 55 (1896) p. 237. E. Wüst s.v. "Perses" *RE*. G. Gray *CAH* 4, pp. 2-3. A. Krappe *REG* 43 (1930) p. 156. Two or three modern scholars have actually attempted to derive the name "Perseus" from Eastern sources. Robert Brown believed it came from the Phoenician "Barsav," *Semitic Influence in Hellenic Mythology* (London, 1898) p. 141, and that "Barsav" was a variant of "Uscho" (Greek "Ouschos"), who was the hunter-god of Phoenician mythology. A. Sayce *JHS* 45 (1925) 162 derived the name from "Attarsiyas" which appears on the Boghaz-Köi inscriptions of ca. 1250 B.C. This Attar-

⁴⁰ É. Boisacq *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 9) p. 771.

⁴¹ P. Buttman *Mythologus* (1829) 2, pp. 191-192. Pott *Kirchliche Zeitung* (1860) 179. U. Wilamowitz *Pindaros* (Berlin, 1922) p. 148,1. L. Bieler *WS* 46 (1931) 123, n. 19. A. Fick-Bechtel *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 33) pp. 431, 461. On Perseus as "Destroyer of Cities," this idea seems to stem from Aischylos' description of the Persian troops as "περσέεσσιν στρατός" in *Pers.* 65ff. *Etym. Mag.* 665, 46.

myth as deriving from those of Asia Minor. Clark Hopkins, for example, saw a parallel to Perseus and the Gorgon in the Babylonian Gilgamesh and Humbaba.⁴⁴ The hero, Gilgamesh, has been represented beheading the monster, Humbaba, with a sickle-sword as he looks away. The demon, wearing a short garment like the Gorgon's, appears with head and torso in frontal pose and legs in profile. Hopkins, furthermore, claimed that "Humbaba" meant a "voice like a tempest," and that its mouth (if not its eyes as in the Gorgon's case) caused death. Langdon, however, derived the name from an animal's and likened the head of the creature to a bull's.⁴⁵ Frequently also, Humbaba was represented as a grimacing, apotropaic mask. So far the resemblances are striking, but Humbaba's appearance had one diacritical feature and function not shared by the Gorgon: its face was rendered by a single-line drawing which is regarded as an attempt to imitate the appearance of sheep-entrails that were used in divination. This feature is distinguishable on examples at least as far back as the period of Sargon of Akkad in the 24th century (pl. 36, fig. 5).⁴⁶ The face of Humbaba, like the sheep-entrails, was

used for purposes of divination, indicating, therefore, another serious difference in interpretation, and consequently in origin between Humbaba and the Gorgon. In addition, Hopkins has remarked that in decapitation scenes on Eastern representations of the kind just described, it is by no means certain that Gilgamesh and Humbaba are specifically the figures represented. In fact, Opfer, in his study on the death of Humbaba has identified only one illustration, and that of the third millennium, as positively depicting Gilgamesh and Humbaba. Hopkins and Porada also offer only one other example, of the Neo-Assyrian period, 9th to 7th centuries B.C. (pl. 36, fig. 6).⁴⁷ If, then, representations of this Gilgamesh-Humbaba myth were so rare locally, how could a sufficient quantity of them have reached the Greeks and inspired them to absorb this myth into their own mythology? However, even though scenes of Gilgamesh and Humbaba were rare in Eastern art, other heroes and monsters were quite frequently rendered in attitudes similar to those of that epic pair. It must have been these illustrations that the Greeks knew. It was in the fused art of the Hittites, Babylonians and Assyrians that this particular formalized pose of aggression was developed and it was apparently this *artistic formulation* which the Greeks borrowed rather than the theme itself.⁴⁸

So far, only the points of external resemblance have been considered, but an investigation of the fundamental conceptions behind the Eastern and the Greek myths makes it clear that the latter did not derive from the former. Briefly: it was Humbaba's function to guard

siyas was a king of the "Akhkhiyawa" whom E. Forrer *OLZ* 27,3 (1924) 113ff., identified as the Achaeans. Forrer believed that Atreus was meant by this king, not Perseus. If one inquires into the deeds of either Barsav or Attarsiyas it is immediately obvious that neither of these had any possible connection with the events of the Perseus myth. See also: Catterall s.v. "Perseus" *RE* 19,1 p. 987. Stanley Cook, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine* (London, 1930) pp. 109-115, suggests that Perseus may be identified with Reseph, a Semitic god who was also worshipped in Egypt as a fighting god, and in Syria. He also had a temple in Carthage, *CIS* 1, 251. C. Clermont-Ganneau *RA* ser. 2, 32 (1876) 372ff.

⁴⁴ C. Hopkins "Assyrian Elements in the Perseus-Gorgon Story" *AJA* 38 (1934) 341ff.

⁴⁵ S. Langdon *Semitic Mythology in the Myth of All Races* 5 (Boston, 1931), p. 254. The Gilgamesh Epic stresses Humbaba's cry which has been variously translated as "tempest, hurricane, or flood," all of which might easily imply a "roar." M. Jastrow and A. Clay *An Old Babylonian Version of the Gilgamesh Epic* (New Haven, 1920) p. 60. F. Thureau-Dangin *RAssyr.* 22 (1925) 23ff. É. Dhorme *Choix de textes religieux Assyro-Babyloniens* (Paris, 1907) p. 229, col. V,1.

⁴⁶ C. Hopkins *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 44) p. 348, fig. 1. S. Smith "The Face of Humbaba" *JRAS* 26 (1926) 440-442, pl. 5.

S. Langdon *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 45) 5, p. 254 figs. 79-80. *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 11 (1924) 107ff., pl. 13, on the entrail face of Humbaba.

⁴⁷ D. Opfer "Der Tod des Humbaba" *AOF* 5 (1928) 207ff. C. Hopkins *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 44) p. 352 fig. 4. E. Porada *Corpus of Anc. Near East. Seals* (New York, 1948) pp. 82ff., fig. 686, see also pp. 90ff., figs. 747ff., figs. 592-3, 595-7, 600, 607-8, 815ff. Thureau-Dangin *London Illustrated News* 166, Feb. 1925, p. 246.

⁴⁸ On the question of Eastern influence in archaic Greek art, see: H. Frankfort "Achaemenian Sculpture" *AJA* 50 (1946) 6ff. G. Richter "Greeks in Persia" *AJA* 50 (1946) 15ff.

the cedars of Lebanon, while later he was made a demon of the underworld. Gilgamesh, an historical king of the first dynasty of Erech, became an omniscient deity who was concerned with the betterment of his people. For them he tamed Enkidu, the representative of savagery; and he also sought to obtain the plant of eternal life.⁴⁹ Moreover, Gilgamesh suffered, and in this partook more of the nature of Prometheus than of Perseus. As the great hero, his story formed the national epic of the Sumerians and Babylonians; the Hittites also gave him much honor.⁵⁰ In contrast, Perseus' entire role was different. He never became a deity, nor even the moral and ethical leader of his people. Other heroes certainly surpassed him in popularity, and were even deified, like Herakles. Moreover, the philosophical beliefs which eventually gathered around the legend of Gilgamesh did not do so in Perseus' case, even in his later development in classical tragedy.

There is no reason to believe, therefore, that the Perseus myth did not originate in Greece. But where and when did it first appear? Kretschmer, in broaching the problem, has pointed out that the names of heroes which end in *-eus*, belonged to an older series, while on the other hand, the sons of these heroes generally were given compound names, as for example, Achilles and his son Neoptolemos.⁵¹ Nilsson, taking over Kretschmer's statement, then argued that since names such as Neoptolemos were current in Homer, the names of the "older" series must correspondingly date from pre-Homeric times. He summarized his arguments in his *Mycenaean Origin of Greek Religion*. In the case of Perseus, he based these on an inscription from Mycenae which speaks of certain officials of Perseus' cult. The inscription is dated about 500 B.C. Kühnert agreed with Nilsson that this was testimony of Perseus' very ancient connec-

tions with Mycenae.⁵² Although there is no doubt that he was the patron hero of Mycenae, Perseus also had a cult at Athens and at Seriphos, cults that were established in archaic and even later times.⁵³ What proof do we have, therefore, that the cult at Mycenae was so much earlier than these, or much earlier than the date of the local late archaic inscription?

Although we can not determine with any certainty that the myth actually arose in Mycenaean times, there is no question but that a number of the incidents had Mycenae and Argos as their locale. The Gorgon, for example, was associated with such sites as Mycenae, Mycale, Mycalessos.⁵⁴ Mycenae and Argos were centers of the later elements of the myth in particular, being regarded as the burial places of the hero, of the Gorgon-head, and of Gorgophone, Perseus' daughter, obviously because the elaborate burial chambers of the Mycenaeans suggested as much to the ancients.⁵⁵ It was also just such a beehive tomb that was the inspiration for the "underground bronze chamber" in which Danae, the mother of the hero, was imprisoned by her father Akrisios, to be kept from the sight of men.⁵⁶ According to the legend, however, Akrisios, fated to die at the hands of Danae's son, did not reckon with Zeus who, in the form of a shower of gold, slipped easily through a chink in the roof and on to her lap. This rare form of the god's appearance has been interpreted by Robert and Otto as

⁴⁹ S. Langdon *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 45) pp. 234-249, on the Gilgamesh epic.

⁵⁰ The Assyrians also took over the Gilgamesh Epic when they came to power. J. Friedrich *ZAssyr.* 39 (1929/30) 1ff. P. Jensen *Das Gilgamesh-Epos in der Weltliteratur* 2 vols. (1906-28). S. N. Kramer "The Epic of Gilgamesh and its Sumerian Sources" *JAOs* 61 (1944) 7ff.

⁵¹ P. Kretschmer *Glotta* 4 (1913) pp. 305ff.

⁵² M. Nilsson *Mycenaean Origin of Greek Myth* (Berkeley, 1932) pp. 26, 40ff., 132. *CIG* 4, no. 493. C. Tsountas *Ephem* (1892) 67. Dr. Antony Raubitschek has very kindly taken the trouble to estimate the date of this inscription for me. C. Robert *Gr. Heldensage* (Berlin, 1920) 1, p. 237. E. Kühnert s.v. "Perseus" in Roscher's *Lex.* 3,2 pp. 2018, 2024-5.

⁵³ Paus. 2,18,1. Frazer's comment on this: 1,572; 3,187.

⁵⁴ Paus. 2,15,4. Ktesias *Pseudo-Plut. de fluv.* 18,6 states that "Mycenae" comes from the "μυκηθμός" of the Gorgon. C. Ziegler s.v. "Gorgo" *RE* 7, p. 1634. M. Nilsson *Min-Myc. Rel.* (Lund, 1950) p. 490. Paus. 2,16,3 also tells us that Mycenae was founded on the site where Perseus dropped his scabbard on its rounded end, "μύκης," or ate a mushroom, also "μύκης."

⁵⁵ Paus. 2,18,1; 2,21,5. C. Robert *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 52) 1, p. 237. M. Nilsson *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 52) p. 42.

⁵⁶ Soph. *Ant.* 944ff. Paus. 2,23,7.

representing the beneficence of Zeus in replenishing the barrenness of the Argive land as symbolized by Danae whom they regarded as an old Earth Goddess. It does not seem necessary to look so far afield for the answer. Apparently the myth-maker was faced with the problem of having Danae conceive without realizing it and so solved the problem by this playful bit of ingenuity that almost seems like a sophisticated parody of Zeus's amours in various animal disguises.⁵⁷

On the basis of such evidence, therefore, Robert, De Ridder, Kühnert, and others regarded Perseus as a hero of the Mycenaean age. Nilsson went so far as to state that this Gorgon-Perseus myth represented "perhaps the best instance of a folk-tale received into Greek heroic mythology,"⁵⁸ adding that it was so crowded with folk-tale motifs that this was in some measure proof of a high antiquity. True, this elaboration may have taken a long time to evolve, but there also seems reason to suppose that it took place over a relatively brief period in which additional motifs accrued rapidly.

It seems very significant, moreover, that even though Perseus or his name may have arisen in Mycenaean times, the myth itself does not seem to have been important before the 8th or even early 7th century. Homer, for example, barely mentions Perseus, and is quite silent about his Mycenaean-Argive connections. Now, if we contrast this knowledge with the fact that the young dramatist Aeschylus had sufficient material to compose a whole tetralogy on the subject, it would seem that the myth had reached its full development within that interval, which is to say, that in that period all the events essen-

tial to a full biography of the hero had finally been fitted together.⁵⁹ In evolving such a complex set of parts, inquiries naturally had had to be made as to places of "origin," and "sources." Consequently, and for reasons now obscure, Mycenae was apparently given the honor of having been the place of Perseus' origins. When a myth is not distinguished from history, those who believe in it must necessarily also believe that its hero must be identified with a given locality, just as in the case with any real hero of history. But such reification, an euhemeristic need for "tradition," should not be confused with actual tradition. Furthermore, while it is only natural for the events of a given myth to cluster about certain geographical localities, this indicates merely that those particular sites, for specific reasons *lent* themselves to the *development* of the myth; it does not mean necessarily that their inhabitants *originated* it.

It seems, therefore, that there is no certain and not even partially satisfactory evidence that the Perseus-Gorgon myth is of Mycenaean origin, either as to time or place. It is possible, of course, that the essential core, the decapitation episode, may have been created at an early period, left in cultural hibernation for several centuries, and then been suddenly revived and developed as it appealed to the needs of the times. But then in that case, one may question the importance of a hero and his myth that thus lies fallow and plays no active role in the culture of a people. The fact that one can raise such a question at all is virtually to challenge the very existence of such a myth, for how can we say that a thing of the imagination exists if it be not in the mind, if it be not vitalized by usage?

In the case of this particular myth, what we are sure of is that it scarcely appears before the second half of the 7th century, when it suddenly arises simultaneously throughout Greece. Prior to that time, literary references are scanty and indicate none of the complexity of episode that eventually evolved around the central act of decapitation. In addition, the monuments show a singular lack of artistic formulation both as to the face and form of the Gorgon; they can only be described as experiments with a new concept. That concept arose within a peasant

⁵⁷ C. Robert *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 52) I, p. 229. W. Otto *Die Götter Griechenlands* (Bonn, 1929) pp. 42ff. It was probably indicative of his golden conception that Perseus was sometimes represented with a halo of golden rays. A. Dumont *Monuments grecs* I #7 (1878) pp. 15ff., pl. 2. L. Séchan *Études sur la tragédie grecque* (Paris, 1926) pp. 111ff. M. Milne *BMMA* Jan. 1946, pp. 126ff. also points out the statement of Nock that Homer describes a supernatural light around the heads of fighting heroes: *Il.* 5.4ff.; 18.205ff.

⁵⁸ M. Nilsson *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 52) p. 40.

⁵⁹ For the possible dating of this tetralogy see "Illustrations to Aeschylus Tetralogy on the Perseus Theme" *AJA* 57 (1953) 269.

society to which a fear of aggressive animal forces was natural.

Yet even that fear of animals had a more particular aspect, which can be shown by observing the use Perseus made of the Gorgon-head. It is significant that the hero did not turn it against kings and tyrants for personal aggrandizement. Popular imagination in that age of tyrants did not create such a fellow-creature in order to allow him to become the supreme Tyrant, even though he had the perfect means in his hands. Instead, with this head Perseus turned to stone Phineus, the suitor of Andromeda, who refused to surrender her to the hero after the latter had saved her from the sea-monster. He also raised it against Polydektes who desired Perseus' mother against her will.

This point becomes more significant when we see that the hero also used the Gorgon-head against the satyr-followers of Dionysos. As the

frenetic religion of this god first reached Argos, the stronghold of Perseus, the hero and local citizens waged a great battle in opposition.⁶⁰ The enemy was defeated when the satyrs were turned to stone at the sight of the lethal head. In contrast to this method of slaughter, the maenads among Dionysos' followers were put to death by the sword by Perseus, according to Pausanias and one of Nonnos' two accounts. In his other version Nonnos says that the women, like the satyrs, were also slain by the head. However, as Robert and Kretschmer state, there is reason to believe that the execution of the women by the sword was the older of the two traditions, which is substantiated by a black-figure painting of Perseus thrusting a sword at a maenad (pl. 36, fig. 7).⁶¹ In contrast, in two paintings of the end of the 5th century, Perseus displays the head to satyrs collapsing in death (pl. 36, fig. 8).⁶²

In any case, the point is clear that in the hands of Perseus the Gorgon-head was used against those of wanton intent toward his be-

⁶⁰ Paus. 2.20.4; 2.22.1; 2.23.7. Nonnos *D.* 25, 105ff.; 47, 499-612, 666.

⁶¹ P. Kretschmer "Zwei Perseus-Sagen auf attischen Vasen" *JDAI* 7 (1892) 33, 36. J. De Witte *GazArch* 1 (1875) 113-114, pl. 29. De Witte calls the women "Gorgons" but they are plainly maenads as Kretschmer recognized, pp. 33ff. and F. Knatz *AA* 7 (1892) 74.

⁶² E. Curtius "Herakles der Satyr und Dreifüßräuber" *Winckelmannsprog.* #12 (1852). S. Reinach-Millingen *Peintures de vases antiques* (Paris, 1891) p. 94. J. Millingen pl. 3. J. Millingen *Peintures antiques et inédites de vases grecs* (Rome, 1813) pl. 3. F. Inghirami *Monumenti Etruschi* (Fiesole, 1824) 5, pt. 1, pl. 43. O. Jahn *Philologus* 27 (1868) pl. 1 p. 1ff. Since there are satyrs represented in these two paintings, it has been suggested that they were inspired by some satyr-play. If so, it was an unusual satyr-play for the scene is one of morbid earnestness, without a touch of humor. It can only be offered here as a suggestion, since evidence is totally lacking, that it may have been Euripides who favored this theme for such a satyr-play. Although he was moved to write the *Bacchae* about 406-7 B.C. during his visit to Macedonia, it does not seem presumptuous to assume that this poet must long have had opinions and feelings about this worship. Perhaps he may have already formulated some of these ideas which dealt with that portion of the myth relating to Perseus and Dionysos in just such a satyr-play, as a kind of preliminary expression. The vase paintings themselves are from the period 420 B.C. or a little later, but it is doubtful that they are late enough to have been contemporary with the production of the *Bacchae* itself. If the theme be overly grim for the usual satyr-play, it may

not have seemed so to the author of the *Alcestis*, that "tragic-comedy" which served in lieu of the usual light satyr-play.

⁶³ It is probably for this same reason that in the early period Perseus did not use the Gorgon-head against Ketos, the mother of the Gorgon, who was attacking Andromeda. A Corinthian vase painting of the middle of the 6th century B.C., our oldest illustration and reference to the Andromeda episode, shows Perseus hurling stones at Ketos, the sea-beast, while the heroine supplies him with ammunition. K. Robert *AZ* 36 (1878) 16. *MonInst* 10 (1878) pl. 52.1. Even vase paintings of the 4th century still depict Perseus using only the harpe or a lance. A. Furtwängler *AA* 8 (1893) 93 #57. R. Engelmann *JDAI* 19 (1904) 144, fig. 1. L. Séchan *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 57) p. 261, fig. 78. Amphora of Canossa: H. Heydemann *Vasens. des Mus. Naz. Neapel* #3225; *Mem. dell' Accad. Ercol.* 9 (1862) pl. 5. L. Séchan *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 57) p. 259, pl. 6. *MonInst* 9 (1872) pl. 38. S. Reinach *Rép. des vases peints grecs et étrusques* 1. (Paris, 1899) p. 188. Compare these with the fragments of one from Ruvo which probably had a similar arrangement of the scene in three registers: R. Engelmann *JDAI* 19 (1904) pl. 9. There is an interesting parallel here between Perseus and Beowulf. Just as Beowulf slew Grendel and later the monster's mother, so the Greek hero slew Ketos, Medusa's mother. Perhaps popular imagination wished to make doubly sure and provided for the destruction of the source, the mother, as well.

loved Danae and Andromeda and, secondly, against the equally lewd forces of Dionysos.⁶⁸ From the former usage it is evident that one more facet has evolved in the development of the Gorgon and her baneful head: the sight of her has no effect on women, but all men who look on her are rendered impotent, turned to stone in the poetic language of myth. The development is logical. The generalized, primitive fear of animals is converted by an urban society into a more intimate fear, in the guise of a Gorgon who renders a man frigid as stone and unmans him. Gradually the development reached its logical end when the Gorgon her-

self was transformed into the beautiful and tragic Medusa of downcast gaze. The second usage, against the followers of Dionysos, indicates that a moral development has also taken place: Olympian Order, won by enormous spiritual struggle and represented in this myth by Perseus, is now opposed to the unbridled ecstasy of the rites of the Thracian. Once again as hero, with his Argives, he repels the Dionysiac threat. Against it Perseus uses the force that can intimidate the host of the god: the Gorgon-head.

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AUGUST 1953

ACQUISITIONS OF THE FOGG ART MUSEUM: SCULPTURE AND FIGURINES

GEORGE M. A. HANFMANN

PLATES 37-40

THIS report on the acquisitions of the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University covers the years 1946-1953. No attempt is made to include a complete listing of all ancient objects that have come to the Museum during these years; such a list will be found in the Appendix to the annual reports of the Museum.¹ I have thought, however, that it might be helpful to include some references to earlier publications of important objects of the Classical Collection and to publications of objects acquired in the period under review but published elsewhere. *Egyptian Art*:

Two reliefs from the mastaba of Ny-Ankh-Neswt, a fine wooden figurine of the time of Amenhotep III, and a Ptolemaic relief of a King, belong to earlier holdings. In 1943 a group of interesting objects came to the Museum with the Grenville L. Winthrop Bequest. They include the bust of a courtier of the Nineteenth Dynasty, two fine Anubis figures of wood, and good bronzes of a Horus hawk, ibis, and two lion-headed deities.²

1951.40. Ptolemaic Relief Carved on Two Sides. Gift of the Friends of the Fogg Museum. A: Head of Man. B: Right Foot. Soft white limestone. L. 17 cm. H. 13.2 cm. (pl. 37, figs. 1-2). Recomposed of three fragments. Missing: upper right part; fragment along lower edge of

A. A: surface rubbed off. Trace of frame(?) at upper left corner. Head of man wearing a tight-fitting cap. Outline of skull is lightly sketched, but ear, eye, nose, and the parts of skull are modeled plastically in rather high relief. B: lower part consists of a base, which has a carefully smoothed lower edge, at a 45° angle to the horizontal. A "corner frame" in the upper right corner is pierced vertically for suspension. The ankle bone of the foot is carefully modeled and a double line used to indicate the toenails. A similar foot is in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore. G. Steindorff, *Egyptian Sculpture* (1946) 96, no. 338, pl. 64, "from Dendera."

Side A looks less finished and the head is cut off inorganically just below the mouth. Hence, it may represent either a trial piece or a re-used relief. Side B seems to have been finished with care as witness the corner frame and the smoothed ledge at the bottom. It may have been the "show-side."

Such two-sided tablets are often described as "models," "trial pieces," or "sculptor's studies,"³ but as B. V. Bothmer has pointed out, many of them must have been votive in nature. Two bear inscriptions (one votive) datable to Ptolemaic times.⁴ The style of the Fogg piece recalls the style of the reliefs of Ptolemy I from Tarraneh.⁵

¹ Report of the President of Harvard College and Reports of Departments, 1946-1954.

² Listed with references in G. M. A. Hanfmann and W. S. Smith, *An Exhibition of Ancient Sculpture*, Fogg Art Museum, May-June, 1950, nos. 7, 11, 18. Cf. F. R. Grace Fogg, *Mus. Bull.* 5 (1936) 30. W. S. Smith, *Egypt. Sculpt. and Painting of the Old Kingdom* (1946), 208, footnote, and *Fogg Mus. Bull.* 11 (1950) 47. *Fogg Museum Notes* (1925) fig. 17. For the Winthrop objects: D. Dunham, *Fogg Mus. Bull.* 10 (1943) 40, figs. 1-3, and *Exhib. Ancient Sculpt.*, nos.

12, 15, 16, 17, 19. C. Frondel, *Mineralogical Magazine* (March 1950) 42. The head of a king published by A. Ranke, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (1936) pl. 118, is doubted by many authorities.

³ C. C. Edgar, "Sculptor's Studies," *Cat. gen. des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire* (1906) no. 33458, pl. 36 (man), nos. 33377 ff. (studies of feet in the round). Steindorff, no. 336, pl. 62 ("King"). For their use as models, Steindorff, 8.

⁴ *BMFA* 51 (1953) 84.

⁵ B. V. Bothmer, *BMFA* 50 (1952) 49, figs. 2, 7.

Ancient Near East:

A beautiful Accadian head of black diorite, a group of objects from the excavations of Nuzi—especially a glazed lion from the Temple of Ishtar—several ivories from the Palace of Samaria, and Achaemenid reliefs of Ahura Mazda and of tribute bearers from Persepolis are the outstanding objects among the material that came to the Fogg Museum prior to 1946.⁶

Two Hittite bronzes (1943.1119, seated god; 1943.1120, walking man with pointed cap and torque: G. L. Winthrop Bequest), a Late Hittite bronze of a ram-bearer (1053.111, gift of Mrs. Lois Orswell Dailey), and an early Achaemenid bronze of a goat⁷ (1949.92, Grace Nichols Strong Memorial Fund) will be published in *Dergisi* of the Antiquities Department, Ankara. A Near Eastern horseman (bronze, 1951.105, Francis H. Burr Memorial Fund) will appear in *Syria*. A Syrian sphinx found in Sparta (1949.11, Friends of Art and Music at Harvard Fund) has been published in *Archaeology* 6 (1953) 229.

Head from the Statue of a Sumerian (priest?). Alabaster. H. 5.8 cm. Early Dynastic III, 2600-2400 B.C. (pl. 37, figs. 3-4). Broken off irregularly at neck. Chipped over left eye corner and along right eyebrow. Cleft by sharp implement on right cheek, the crack extending inward and visible in the hollows of both eyes. Bit of nose and inlays of eyes missing. Brownish, salty earth on right ear and nape. Trace of chisel under the nose; other areas very carefully abraded and polished.

An excellent characterization of a Napoleonic little man. Within the standard type of a clean-shaven head, in which the flight of eyebrows, the eyes, the big nose, and a little mouth constitute a prescribed set of features, the sculptor

managed to convey a suggestion of individuality through a sensitive variation of forms. The outline of the skull departs from the norm. Some strokes below the right ear seem to hint at fatty folds of the neck. There is a suggestion of a double chin in the curve that leads from chin to neck. The ears are described as flat shells with a dot-like eminence for the ear lobe. Strength is added to the structure of the face by the way in which a marked plane is constituted by mouth and cheeks; yet it is carefully "led over" into the rounded form of the rest of the head. The mouth is pursed slightly. The expression is complacent yet attentive.

Edith Porada, to whose comments I am much indebted, compares the little figure of a "priest" in a skirt from the Nintu Temple at Khafaje⁸ and remarks that the Fogg piece is "of the best period and the best workshop of Early Dynastic III." It can safely be attributed to a sculptor active in the Diyala valley.

In the extraordinary development, during which Sumerian sculptors created the major types of monumental sculpture for the Near East, this last and most refined phase of the pioneering period is distinguished not only by mastery of form but also by an extraordinary ability to convey lively touches of immediacy and reality. The Accadian head in the Fogg is larger in size, more emphatic in structure, and more complex in such plastic details as the forms of hair, locks, and ears. It is more monumental, more dignified, and yet in a sense also more austere and "archaic." Its sculptor had addressed himself to the construction of an adequate symbol for the concept of a princely personage; the sculptor of the Sumerian head seems to have looked at an actual person.⁹

In 1940 the Museum acquired the head of a "genius" from the Palace of Assurnasirpal (885-859 B.C.) at Kalah (Nimrud) representative of

⁶ A mimeographed catalogue *Arts of the Ancient Near East*, April 1 to May 10, 1952, includes the most comprehensive listing of Fogg objects. It is "out of print." Other publications: R. F. S. Starr, *AJA* 45 (1941) 81, figs. 1-3 and *Nuzi* 1 (1937, 1939) pls. 40:C2; 78:S; 98:A; 101:G1-2; H1-2; 110A; 114A,E; 121V. G. W. and G. M. Crowfoot, *Early Ivories from Samaria* (1938) pls. 5:3; 10:2; 12:7; 16:1; 18:57; 20:5; 23:2; 24:2. E. Schroeder, *Fogg Mus. Bull.* 10 (1943) 44, figs. 1-3; and A. U. Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art* (1938) pls. 96 A,C; 97.

⁷ The Iranian Institute, *Exhibition of Persian Art* (1940) 302, Case 3, no. G.

⁸ H. Frankfort, *More Sculpture from the Diyala Region*, *OIP* 60 (1943) 6 f., no. 232, frontispiece, pls. 19 f. University Museum, Philadelphia. Cf. also pl. 40, no. 280, pl. 92, no. 38.

⁹ For the development see Frankfort, *op. cit.*, 5 f. and *Sculpture of the Third Millennium from Tell Asmar and Khafajah*, *OIP* 54 (1939) 28 ff. Accadian head: *AJA* 45 (1941) 81, figs. 1-3.

the colossal type of Assyrian reliefs.¹⁰ Now a fragment of a small, narrative relief has been added, on which Donald P. Hansen contributes the following note:

1953.13. Relief with Feather-Crowned Archers. Alabaster. Publications Fund. Said to have been brought from Ninive by a missionary. H. 36.2 cm. W. 24.8 cm. (pl. 37, fig. 5).

The fragment depicts four archers advancing to the right. They have short hair and beards following the curvature of the chin. The front portion of the figure on the right and portions of the legs of the two following figures are missing. On the left edge can be seen the bow, left hand, nose, mouth, and chin of a fourth figure. They carry bows in the left hand while the right falls at the side, and they are dressed in short, plain tunics, higher in the front than the back, which fall to approximately the level of the knees. Other distinctive accoutrements are the belt, band about the hair, quiver with feather-like cover (Verschlussstück), sword, and above all the feather headdress. The beard, hair with band, and quiver probably mark the figures as Elamite warriors.¹¹

The style of the modeling and the details of composition and dress suggest that the fragment belongs to that group of reliefs discussed by Weidner¹² and Falkner¹³ which originally formed part of the decoration of the North Palace of Assurbanipal (668-626 B.C.) at Kuyunjik (Ninive). The reliefs in question are British Museum 124923, a fragment in the Royal Geographical Society in London, and another fragment, Deposito Correr 41 in the Museo Archeologico di Venezia. Divided into three horizontal sections, the fragments show two processions of

Elamite warriors flanking a central band which depicts a file of Assyrian warriors also advancing to the right and being met by a group of priests. The exact significance of the scene is not clear. It would seem that the Fogg Museum fragment belongs to the upper register of this scene (the Royal Geographical Society fragment¹⁴) since the style of the modeling, the placement of details of the composition, the band at the top, and the measurements of the reliefs are similar.

1953.102. Fragment of a Vase with Head of a Deer. Silver, with gold-burnished details. Achæmenid, Fifth Century B.C. Alpheus Hyatt Fund. H. 7.5 cm., without ear (pl. 38, figs. 6-7). Broken off at mid-back and below shoulders. More than half of head missing; two fragments of lower right side broken off and re-attached.

In the following description I owe many observations to the expert eye of Mrs. Leland C. Wyman. Silver sheet hand-raised (hammered freehand from inside) in two halves, which are joined with thin silver solder, visible on the inside. Traces of solder along the break across the back suggest that the back halves may have been worked separately and joined. Ear cast separately and inserted by bending sheet inward. Legs, too, were inserted. Eye, jawline, and hollow around ear tooled from outside. Fine graving in groups of concentric strokes down the neck and chest, the lower group over a bulge on the chest. Irregular and deeply incised circular dots, some (shoulder) with concentric, others with simple cross strokes. Traces of gilding below the left eye, on back of head, down the engraved area of neck and chest, and in three of the engraved circles on the body. The gold was applied in a thin, very smooth layer, presumably by burnishing. A bit of thin gold leaf is stuck between the skull and the base of the ear. Some corroded bronze (presumably from another object with which the piece was buried) adheres to the ear. It seems probable that the head, a broad strip down the front, and all of the incised circles were gilded so that the original effect would have been of a contrasting glow of silver and gold. Mr. John M. Teal, who kindly tried to identify the species, terms it a fallow deer, either *dama dama* or *dama mesopotamica*.

¹⁰ 1940.14. F. R. Grace, *Fogg Mus. Bull.* 9 (1940) 22. For a recent publication of similar reliefs in Dartmouth, cf. J. B. Stearns and D. P. Hansen, *The Assyrian Reliefs at Dartmouth*, Dartmouth College Museum Guide No. 1 (1953).

¹¹ Weidner, Ernst F., "Die Reliefs der assyrischen Könige, Erster Teil: Die Reliefs in England, in der Vatikan-Stadt und in Italien," *AOF*, Beiheft 4 (1939) 78 and 112; 44.

¹² *op. cit.*, 51-53, 78-82.

¹³ Falkner, M., "Die Reliefs der assyrischen Könige, Zweite Reihe: 1. Zehn assyrische Reliefs in Venedig," *AOF* 16 (1952) 31-32.

¹⁴ Weidner, *loc. cit.*, 79, Abb. 68.

In size and technique the Fogg fragment corresponds to the silver-gilt ibex handle in the British Museum,¹⁵ but the metal is so thin that I hesitate to view it as a handle. It is, on the other hand, considerably smaller than the normal ends of Persian animal rhytons.¹⁶ It may have been a complete figurine like the antelope of the Metropolitan Museum. The sympathetic portrayal which stresses the "innocence" of the animal and the refinement of detail point to the developed phase of Achaemenid art.¹⁷ A charming hollow-cast deer of gold in the British Museum shows the earlier, sterner manner.¹⁸ While the Near Eastern origin of animal rhytons and handles is incontestable, Greek workmanship has been claimed for some of the later pieces.¹⁹

Greek Bronzes:

A small sphinx of ca. 500 B.C. has been published in *Archaeology* 6 (1953) 229. The fine siren hydria, formerly in the J. E. Taylor and H. Oppenheimer Collections²⁰ will be republished in an article on siren-hydriae.

1950.38. Geometric Bird (duck?). Annie S. Coburn Fund. L. 8 cm. H. 4.3 cm. (pl. 38, fig. 8). Full-cast. Square head, atrophied legs, ring for suspension. Light green patina. From Greece. Around the middle of the eighth century.

This piece is very Geometric, with its angular stylization of head and precise elongation of the body. It belongs presumably to the same phase

as the "strictly Geometric" bronze horses and their congeners on Dipylon vases.²¹

Since the "aquatic" birds were presents to the gods, their meaning must be looked for in the same direction as that of bulls, oxen, stallions, horses, and cocks which were also offered in small-scale bronze reproductions—either to insure good health of domestic fowl, or good hunting, if they be wild ducks.

1952.41. Geometric Horse on Platform. Gift of Professor V. G. Simkhovitch. H. 6.5 cm. L. of base 6.9 cm. (pl. 38, figs. 9-10). Missing: bits of platform edge, lower tail, ears. Electrolytically treated in 1953. Surface reddish-brown, pitted. Long thin legs, thin body. Probably late Geometric, second half of the eighth century.²²

Some of the platform horses were undoubtedly intended as stamping devices,²³ but others may have been votives to be hung on trees.²⁴

In the Heraeum of Samos, few if any horses were found in the earlier Geometric strata; the important animals were oxen and bulls. On the other hand, a horse is the first animal to be depicted on Attic Protogeometric pottery, and from Middle Geometric period on, horse-handled pyxides and figurines of horses in terracotta and bronze abound.²⁵ This evident concern with horses may reflect a shift toward horse breeding on a larger scale and the concomitant rise of "equestrianism," the use of cavalry in battle, and the emergence of the *hippeus* as a social class.

¹⁵ A. U. Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art* 1 (1938) 224 ff., pl. 111A. Cf. *Cat. Intern. Exhib. Persian Art* (1931) no. 10Z. Head of antelope, silver gilt, from Volynhia. Met. Mus. 47. 100.89.

¹⁶ A. U. Pope, *op. cit.*, pls. 113B, 114. Even closer are the stag and doe handles, I. Smirnov, *Vostochnoye Serebro* (1909) pl. 1, no. 18.

¹⁷ Cf. the ibex of the Raphael Collection, Pope, *op. cit.*, pl. 111C.

¹⁸ Pope, *op. cit.*, pl. 116F. Cf. also the figurine of silver antelope. C. K. Wickinson, *BMMA* 7 (1949) 186 ff. For other uses of animal forms, cf. H. Otto, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 14 (1944) 9.

¹⁹ H. Lushey, *AA* 53 (1938) 760. G. M. A. Richter *AJA* 50 (1946) 23. For contemporary Greek deer cf. G. M. A. Richter, *Met. Mus. Handbook of Greek Coll.* (1953) fig. 75h.

²⁰ J. E. Taylor Sale, Christie, July 1, 1912, *Cat.* 92, no. 367. Henry Oppenheimer Sale, Christie, July 22, 1936, *Cat.* 41, no. 126.

²¹ F. Matz, *Geschichte der griechischen Kunst* 1 (1949) 80, pl. 25a. On the birds cf. W. Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes* (1929) 37, pl. 13. Ch. Blinkenberg, *Lindos* 1 (1931) 105, pl. 11, nos. 230, 235-238. M. Robertson, *BSA* 43 (1946) 118, pl. 49:E3-4, Subgeometric.

²² Cf. K. A. Neugebauer, *Berlin* 1 (1931) nos. 34-35, pl. 6, with other parallels. A. de Ridder, *Bronzes . . . Acropole* (1896) 175, no. 482, fig. 141.

²³ A. Furtwängler, *Olympia* 4 (1890) no. 230, pl. 14, and a piece on the art market have knobs for handles. The piece with the closed platform showing two animals in Ch. Waldstein, *The Heraeum of Argos* 2 (1905) pl. 73:13, was a stamp.

²⁴ Neugebauer, *op. cit.*, nos. 34-35, pl. 6, for platform patterns similar to the Fogg piece.

²⁵ Cf. C. Ohly, *AM* 65 (1940) 94, n. 3. S. Benton, *JHS* 70 (1950) 21, pl. 4f. Horse breeding Argos has been suggested as a manufacturing center for the majority of the bronze horses found in Olympia.

1947.76. Head of a Ram. F. R. Grace Memorial Fund. H. 2.6 cm. L. 4 cm. (pl. 38, fig. 11). Cast solid. Tooled edge at neck. Good, light green patina. Careful circular locks between horns, on forehead, and across neck. Fifth or fourth century B.C.(?).

The ram, a symbol of pugnacious strength and sturdy reliability, as witness the adventure of Odysseus in the cave of Cyclops, was deemed a suitable decoration of armor, cutlery, furniture, and vases from archaic to Roman times.²⁶ The Fogg piece has a shallow, somewhat irregular depression at the back. The lack of precision makes it unlikely that this depression was fitted over metal; it suggests that the piece was mounted on a wooden bar.

1952.20. Young Boy Offering a Libation. Gift of Mrs. Edward Jackson Holmes. H. 12 cm. (pl. 39, figs. 12-13). Ca. 430-420 B.C. Missing: left leg. Traces of rich, bluish-green patina; other areas (cleaned prior to accession to the Museum) brown to dark green. Pitted; corroded in spots.

The bronze is unfinished. (1) As Mrs. Leland C. Wyman points out, the casting line (where the two "flasks" come together) has not been removed on left shoulder and is visible on right arm. The peg from overflow (back, below buttocks) is broken off, but not filed away. The pitted "fireskin" has not been removed. (2) The face has not been tooled, so that the only facial traits are the cast hollows of the eyes. Apparently, the bronze did not flow properly or else the mould was pressed inward at the top of the head so that a part of the skull over the forehead did not fill out. The same seemed to have happened to the ankles. The artist chiseled the main dividing line on the back and cut short lines to set off arms from shoulder blades and hair from face — then he gave up.

The boy holds a round object with handle (wine jug?) in his right hand, a patera with swan-head handle in his left hand. He belongs to a group of bronzes directly inspired by Polykleitos and his school.²⁷ Despite his unfinished state, he displays that stately rhythm, which is the hallmark of the High Classic sculpture. It is this organic and rhythmic quality in his motion and posture which convinced me that the bronze is not Etruscan. Mrs. Lawrence Richardson, Jr., whose knowledge of Etruscan bronzetti is expert, agrees.

1947.48. Bronze Relief (cheek-guard of a helmet). Presented in memory of F. R. Grace by his friends and associates. H. 12.7 cm. (pl. 39, figs. 14-15). G. M. A. Hanfmann, *Bull. Fogg Mus.* 10 (1947) 184-188, with bibliography on metal reliefs and cheek-guards.

Hammered to thin relief in repoussé technique (from inside over pitch or leather; without mould), backed with soft lead, which according to R. J. Gettens is probably ancient.²⁸ Missing: fragments at lower part. Piece at upper right re-attached. Edge along right side ancient; left edge, from head of dog to head of youth, perhaps refired. Surface cracked.

The young hunter is seated on a rock, over which he has spread his garment. His left hand rests lightly on the rock, his right caresses the attentive hound. The hind part of the animal is concealed behind the rock. He and the dog are all alone, united in a self-contained group of quiet understanding. The austere eye of the youth makes his head appear more severe than the easy grace of his relaxed body would lead one to expect. His expression is dream-like, almost unseeing. The severity of the head (fig. 15) had induced me previously to date the relief in the late fifth century. I have since

²⁶ Armor: T. T. Hoopes, *D. M. Robinson Studies* 2 (1953) 835, pls. 81, 84. Cutlery: British Museum, *Greek and Roman Life* (1908) fig. 180b. Furniture: D. Dunham, *BMFA* 46 (1948) 100, figs. 5-9. Vases: K. A. Neugebauer, *Führer Antiquarium, Bronzen* (1924) 70, pl. 22. H. B. Walters, *BMC Bronzes* (1899) 162, pl. 25, no. 882, from Boscoreale, with circular locks. G. M. A. Richter, *Met. Mus. Bronzes* (1915) no. 436. A. de Ridder, *Bronzes . . . Acropole* no. 527, fig. 170.

²⁷ *Met. Mus. Bronzes*, nos. 87 (Roman copy), 88, with references. Lamb, *op. cit.*, 168, pls. 61b, 62a. P. Levêque in G. Faider-Feytmans, *Les Antiquités du Musée de Mariemont* (1952) 88, pl. 32, G. 60.

²⁸ Similar lead backing on the cheek guard with Odysseus, Berlin. Neugebauer, *Führer* (1924) no. 783, pl. 35. Mrs. Wyman remarks that high parts of repoussé work are particularly liable to crack, as our piece demonstrates, and that backing the relief would be a normal procedure.

noticed the grave-relief in Munich (pl. 40, fig. 16).²⁰ It is dated, no doubt correctly, in the early fourth century, and so is the Fogg relief. Both presumably draw their inspiration from some earlier famous work in relief or painting.²⁰ A hunter stele from Thespieae displays a generic resemblance, but is probably inspired by a different type.²¹

The hunters of the gravestones are intended as memorials to definite individuals,²² but the youth on the cheek-guard is certainly not the owner of the helmet. He is a legendary hero, one of "the companions of Cheiron . . . who learned many noble lessons in their youth, beginning with hunting." (Xenophon, *Kynegetikos* 12:18.) The choice is wide, but perhaps Theseus, Peleus, Meleager, Kephalos, and Hippolytos are more likely candidates than some of the others who gained fame as hunters.²³

What such a group conveyed to Greeks of the fourth century is explained in Xenophon's *Kynegetikos*. The author loves and knows hunt and hounds. But above and beyond that, the hunter is for him an exemplar of traditional civic-minded *arete* rooted in sound training of body and character. Like the heroic hunters of old, he will not fail his city; he is far superior to debauched pleasure seeking individualists and the frivolous and deceitful sophists.²⁴ Our youth is not intended as the portrait of a thinker; he is a pious, manly hero taking a rest

in the company of his best dog (*sophotate kyon*, *Kynegetikos* 6:13)²⁵ after exercise of a pursuit which the gods like and approve. It all seems natural and normal. One has to look back to the earlier grave stelae, where masters play with their dogs "at home" in unconcerned domesticity,²⁶ to see the change — then one realizes that the Fogg hunter and his fellow huntsmen on the stelae are solemn proclamations of a way of life, and that such an inconspicuous element as the rock conveys a suggestion of a new feeling for outdoors and nature.

1951.106. Running Youth. Satyr? Francis H. Burr Memorial Fund. H. 13.8 cm. (pl. 40, figs. 17-19). Cast solid. Patina largely olive-green. Missing: right arm from above elbow, left arm below shoulder, left lower leg, and right foot. Bulging muscles, unkempt hair, hollowed eyes. Although the two flamboyant locks over the forehead look like horns, closer inspection shows that other locks are designed in the same fashion. This is sketchy but vigorous work of the "dynamic" phase of Hellenistic style, 200-150 B.C.

Since the youth has neither tail nor goat's horns nor goat's ears, we cannot be sure that he is a satyr. Yet he does not seem to be a barbarian and he is certainly not a normal Greek youth. His nearest relatives are the Hellenistic satyr boys of the "rustic" type. The agitated posture suggests that he may be engaged in a fight. It resembles the attitude of the young

²⁰ P. Wolters, *MJB* 4 (1909) 6-8, fig. 2, with a fine appreciation. *Fünzig Meisterwerke der Glyptothek* (1928) pl. 33. I owe photograph and references to the kindness of H. Diepolder. Independently, D. von Bothmer had noticed the resemblance.

²⁰ The hare hunter of the Munich stele and his dog seem readier to spring into action. The master of the Fogg relief has changed the position of the right arm to achieve a greater feeling of intimacy between hunter and dog, and both seem more relaxed. E. Löwy, instancing Peleus and his dog, thought the motif was Polygnotan. *Polygnot* (1929) 55, fig. 59. Cf. Pan on coin of Pandosia, J. Chittenden, *Hesperia* 16 (1947) 103, pl. 21c.

²¹ G. Rodenwaldt, *JDAI* 28 (1913) 335 f., fig. 11.

²² The use of a well-known type of a hunter hero (for example, Peleus mourning for Meleager) would contribute to that overtone of heroization which K. Friis-Johansen has shown to be vital to the art of the grave-stelae.

²³ Xenophon, *Kynegetikos* 1. Kephalos; Chittenden, *loc. cit.*, pl. 15 f. Perhaps also H. Bulle, *Der schöne Mensch*, (1923) 118, fig. 96.

²⁴ *Kynegetikos* 12-13. For a masterly exposition on hunting as *paideia* in Xenophon and Plato cf. W. Jaeger, *Paideia* 2 (1947) 159, 177 ff., 328, who defends the attribution of the entire essay to Xenophon and dates it ca. 360-350 B.C.

²⁵ The dog of the relief is undoubtedly one of the races cautiously lumped together by O. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt* 1 (1909) 91, 118, figs. 38, 52, as "Jagd-Windhund." Mr. John M. Teal suggests that the dog would be termed greyhound in modern terminology. For recent discussions of Greek dogs cf. K. Scheffold, *Jahresbericht der öffentlichen Kunstsammlung Basel* (1950) 185 ff. G. Van Hoorn, *D. M. Robinson Studies* 2 (1953) 106, pl. 33c. J. Aymard, *Essai sur les chasses romaines* (Paris, 1951) 246-261.

²⁶ K. Friis-Johansen, *The Attic Grave Reliefs* (1950) 124.

satyr in Chantilly with the sides reversed;⁸⁷ but the Fogg youth is heavier in build, larger in motion. On the other hand, comparisons with the Eros of Boscoreale and the satyr of Mahdia⁸⁸ show clearly that the Fogg figurine antedates the hardening influence of the Classicism of the first century B.C. Since Furtwängler's

essay on the satyr of Pergamon it has been customary to call such rustic satyrs in vigorous motion "Pergamene"; the summary, somewhat crude workmanship might suggest Alexandria, but I have found no conclusive comparisons.⁸⁹

1953.83. Hellenistic Bronze Ring with Portrait Bust. Gift of Robert T. Paine, Jr. H. 2.5 cm. W. 2.1 cm. (pl. 40, fig. 20). Cast in one piece. Plain hoop, rounded without; projecting oval bezel. Broken, mended with modern solder. Dark brown patina. Gash on cheek of head. Female bust to left. Melon coiffure, diadem, garment around neck, round earring(?).

L. D. Caskey, whom Mr. Paine had consulted about the piece, identified the lady as "probably Berenike II, wife of Ptolemy III, Euergetes, King 247-222 B.C." and referred to F. H. Marshall, *BMC Finger Rings* (1907) 200, pl. 31, no. 1267. For the shape, *ibid.* p. XLIII, Type XXXIV. Cf. also R. S. Poole, *BMC, The Ptolemies* (1883) 60, pl. 13:7.

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⁸⁷ On rustic satyrs cf. Kuhnert, *Myth. Lex.* (1909) 487 f. Chantilly: Ch. Picard, *MonPiot* 43 (1949) 58, figs. 1-3, pls. 6-7, third century B.C.

⁸⁸ G. M. A. Richter, *Met. Mus. Bronzes* (1915) no. 131. A. Merlin, *MonPiot* 18 (1910) 15, pl. 5. The satyr, Richter no. 251, is a Roman copy of an original related to the Fogg bronze.

⁸⁹ A. Furtwängler, "Der Satyr von Pergamon," 40. *Winckelmanns-program Berlin* (1888). For the features cf.: A. Ippel, *Bronzefund von Galjub* (1922) pl. 7:65,66. O. Rubensohn, *Hellenistisches Silbergerät* (1911) pl. 2:35 (posture), pl. 19:67. P. Perdrizet, *Bronzes grecs d'Égypte, Collection Fouquet* (1911) 14 f., no. 11, pl. 7. D. K. Hill, *Cat. Class. Bronze Sculpture, Walters Art Gallery* 1 (1949) nos. 110, 118, 143. For the style with muscular exaggerations, compare the Poseidon bronze in the Louvre, dated by J. Charbonneaux ca. 130-120 B.C. *MonPiot* 46 (1952) 25, pl. 37.

A CUP BY DOURIS

SHERMAN E. LEE

PLATES 41-42

IN 1915 a repaired and heavily repainted Greek *kylix* in an indeterminate red-figured style was given to the Cleveland Museum of Art as a part of the Hinman B. Hurlbut Collection.¹ The subsequent deterioration of the adhesives reduced the cup to a collection of shards thick with modern paint and apparently of use for study purposes only. A preliminary examination of the broken fragments was made in 1952 and large areas of the original decoration were seen to be needlessly covered by repaint. These areas of new color were evidently deemed necessary by the unknown "restorer" to cover the breakage lines and also to endow certain figures with moral rectitude. The preliminary cleaning was continued by mechanical means aided with a diluted ammonia solvent and the result was a reasonably complete broken *kylix* in good state and with decoration drawn by a not unpracticed hand.

The present restored state of the *kylix* can be seen on plates 41, 42. No overpaint has been used, and lost or severely damaged areas are clearly marked and differentiated, both by color and by an incised line around the disaffected part. As restored, the cup measures 11 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches in diameter and 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height. The interior (pl. 41, fig. 1) shows a standing Dionysos in a long himation attended by a prancing nude satyr. The god holds a branch of grapevine with leaves in pink and the grapes slightly modelled in black relief. The figures stand on a ground line and are surrounded by a circular border of alternate fret and cross patterns, the latter in black on a

small field reserved in the red color of the clay.

The exterior friezes (pl. 42, figs. 2, 3), separated by the handle areas with the usual palmette arabesques, depict alternate maenads and satyrs, the former clad in long himations and bearing *thyrsi*, the latter nude or with leopard skins thrown over their shoulders. Profile format with studied overlapping of figures is used throughout the figure representations on the reverse.

While the drawing is in some places a trifle careless, the stylistic conventions for the chin, trochanter and iliac crest, eye, clavicle and shin, combined with the cleverly lapped frieze figures and monumental interior composition, indicate the style of Douris as outlined by Beazley² and Richter.³ The most pertinent comparisons with Douris' works accepted by Beazley are those with the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, *kylix* 00.499,⁴ from Orvieto, signed and with subject matter similar to the Cleveland cup; the Oxford *kylix* 1929.752, dated about 480-475 B.C.;⁵ and the Hoppin *kylix* from Capua⁶ which has exterior subject matter very close to the Cleveland cup, the same *thyrsus* type and the same interior border.

The Cleveland *kylix* would appear to date from about 480-475 B.C.⁷ at the end of Douris' middle period but prior to the later, simpler and more monumental style best seen in this country in the famous Metropolitan *kylix* of ca. 470 B.C.⁸ While some 193 cups by Douris are listed by Beazley, 79 being of the middle period, the fame and merit of the master vase painter and his works would seem to justify calling attention to this previously unknown and unpublished cup in the Cleveland Museum of Art.

⁶ *Ibid.*, (U.S.A. fasc. 1 b Hoppin and Gallatin), Hoppin Coll. Plates 9 & 10.

⁷ I am most grateful to J. D. Beazley who suggested the specific dating and attribution in a written communication to the writer after receiving photographs of the *kylix* in its cleaned but unrestored state. He cites Nos. 90 and 91 in his *ARV* for comparison.

⁸ Richter, *op. cit.*

¹ Museum No. 508.15.

² J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, Oxford, 1942, Douris pp. 279-294.

³ G. M. Richter, *Red-Figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New Haven, 1936, vol. 1, pp. 80-82.

⁴ Beazley, *op. cit.*, No. 78 under Douris; for illustration see J. C. Hoppin, *A Handbook of Attic Red-Figured Vases*, Cambridge, 1919, vol. 1, p. 231.

⁵ *Corpus Vasorum* (Gr. Brit. fasc. 9, Oxford fasc. 2 by Beazley, Payne and Price), plates 52 (1) and 54 (1-2).

NEWS LETTER FROM GREECE

EUGENE VANDERPOOL

PLATES 43-46

ATHENS AND ATTICA

On the ACROPOLIS the remodelling of the main Museum building has been completed and the installation of the poros pediment groups, the Parthenon frieze and the Nike balustrade has commenced under the supervision of Mr. Meliades. It is hoped that the galleries with these objects may be opened to the public in the course of the year.

Preparations are being made to demolish the mediaeval tower (bell tower or minaret) in the opisthodomos of the Parthenon. The ceiling is to be restored over the west peristyle to protect the Panathenaic frieze which remains in position here.

The difficult and delicate work of reconstructing the southwest wing of the Propylaea has proceeded under the direction of Mr. Stikas. The double anta at the west end of the north façade has been re-erected. The slender pier at the center of the west façade is being set up. It was a monolith, but had been broken; five large fragments of it have been identified.

A large scale campaign of excavation was conducted in the AGORA and the reconstruction of the Stoa of Attalos has begun. Reports have already appeared in *Archaeology* 6 (1953) 142-146 and in *Hesperia* 23 (1954) 31-67.

Mr. Threpsiades excavated parts of the CITY WALLS between the Kerameikos and the Hill of the Nymphs. Towers were located in Aphaia Street (just south of the railway) and Pouloupoulou Street (the next block south). At the corner of Herakleidon and Erysichthonos Streets part of the south tower of the Piraeus gate was found (Ill. A). The north tower had been located but not recognized many years ago on the north side of Herakleidon Street (*AM* 33 [1907] 501, fig. 21 b). Although it was not possible to expose the whole of the gate since it lies under the pavement of Herakleidon Street, enough was discovered to make the plan reasonably certain. It seems to have been a small Dipylon similar to that on the saddle between the Pnyx and the Museum Hill (*Hesperia* 12 [1943] 318). Mr. Threpsiades also exposed the inner face of the wall for a stretch of about 35 m. south of the gate.

Built into the wall at the gate and south of it were a number of archaic grave monuments. The finest of these is a fragment of a stele of the middle of the

sixth century B.C. preserving the head of a boxer (pl. 43, fig. 1). The lower torso and legs of a fine, life-sized kouros were also discovered. There were several inscribed bases for grave monuments. The most interesting of these has a four line inscription (pl. 43, fig. 2). The first two lines are written in Greek and tell us that the monument marked the tomb of a Carian whose name, now only partly preserved, Mr. Threpsiades proposes to restore as Tymnes, son of Skylax. The third line is in Carian characters and probably had the name of the deceased in his native language. The fourth line is again in Greek and has the signature of the sculptor Aristokles who must have made the marble statue that the base once carried. Aristokles is familiar to us as the artist who carved the well-known Aristion stele in the National Museum in Athens. Mr. Threpsiades is preparing a study of this most interesting inscription.

Mr. Iakovides excavated some Mycenaean tombs at PERATI on the north side of the bay of Porto Rapti. They lie on the east bank of a torrent bed that falls into the sea a short distance east of the church of St. Spyridon. There is an extensive Mycenaean cemetery here which was discovered in 1895 by Staïs who excavated two tombs. Many other tombs have since been opened by illicit diggers. Mr. Iakovides excavated five undisturbed tombs and cleaned out five others that had been robbed. They are small chamber tombs with dromoi and are placed very close to one another with sometimes less than a meter between them. All date from the LH III period and reach down to its end. About a hundred vases, some seal stones and many small ornaments of gold and semi-precious stone were found. In pits in one of the tombs were found two certain instances of cremation, an infant and an adult woman; there appears to have been a third instance in one of the robbed tombs. These cremation burials date from LH III B times, not from sub-Mycenaean or geometric times. In one of these pits along with the burnt bones were found various ornaments of gold and other materials some of which resemble things from the chance find at Tiryns (Karo, *AM* 1930). There were also a seal-cylinder, probably from Asia Minor, and a faience plaque with a cartouche of Pharaoh Rameses II (13th century B.C.) which gives an important chronological indication.

Three late Mycenaean chamber tombs were found at ALIKI between Glyphada and Voula and excavated by Mr. Theocharis. They lie in the flat ground a couple of hundred meters inland from Cape Punta and belong to the Mycenaean cemetery which has long been known to exist there (Ilπακνιδ, 1880, 15-16; cf. BSA 42 [1947] 4). They have very long dromoi, 15 meters in length, with niches in the sides. Several dozen vases, mostly LH III B, were found as well as figurines and steatite beads.

Two Mycenaean chamber tombs were excavated at Kamini south of VARI. Among the vases found in them was a rhyton decorated with remarkably realistic fish.

At RAPHINA Mr. Theocharis continued to explore the Early Helladic settlement, uncovering some houses and a street running beside them. On the promontory of ASKETARIO, two kilometers south of Raphina, he dug a trial trench which revealed a deep, Early Helladic deposit. The trench cut across a room 2.50 m. square in which were found no less than twenty vases of various shapes, the handsomest being a high-footed bowl decorated with geometric patterns in red paint.

An Early Helladic site was located near the mediaeval tower at VRAONA northeast of Markopoulo, and a small trial dig revealed a workshop for making obsidian tools.

At AGIOS ANDREAS, on the east coast of Attica between Raphina and Marathon, a large, late black-figured lebes gamikos was discovered by chance. The body is well preserved and has the same scene on either side, a wedded pair in a chariot accompanied by Hermes, Apollo, Dionysos and other gods.

The Victoria and Albert Museum in London has recently announced the acquisition of some fragments of ancient textiles said to have been found in a bronze kalpis together with bones at KOROPi east of Mt. Hymettos. The textiles, which are in a very fragmentary state, are of fine linen cloth embroidered in diaper pattern with a small lion in the center of each lozenge. The date may be late fifth century B.C. (ILN January 23, 1954).

ELEUSIS. Mr. Travlos did some excavating on the northern outskirts of the sanctuary. He was able to fix the limits of the sanctuary in the area west of the Greater Propylaea, finding remains of the boundary wall at exactly the point where he had assumed it to be in his article in *Hesperia* 18 (1949) 140-143 (the *diateichisma* at D). He also excavated around the edges of the paved court north of the Greater Propylaea and discovered that the court was bordered by stoas, not by a peribolos wall as had hitherto been assumed (Ill. B). These stoas date from the

Antonine period as do the Propylaea, the paved court and the other buildings in and around it.

Mr. Mylonas continued his work at Eleusis in the cemetery along the road leading to Megara. Many graves of Middle Helladic and Mycenaean times were opened as well as some Classical and Hellenistic ones. The latter were generally set down among, and even into, the former. In one area, however, there were no later burials, and a group of Prehistoric graves was found surrounded by a low wall of Classical times. It seems probable that this is the spot that was pointed out in antiquity as the burial place of The Seven Against Thebes. The graves are, of course, not those of The Seven; they are merely Prehistoric graves of various periods that were discovered by the Eleusinians of the late fifth century B.C. and interpreted by them as the graves of the leaders of the expedition against Thebes. This explanation was accepted throughout Classical antiquity as we learn from Plutarch and Pausanias. A well-illustrated account of the excavation has appeared in *ILN* September 12, 1953.

PELOPONNESUS

At CORINTH, Mr. Morgan excavated in the Agora and has published an account of his discoveries in *Hesperia* 22 (1953) 131-140. Mr. Dinsmoor pursued his investigation of the temenos of Temple E in connection with his comprehensive study of the West Shops and related buildings.

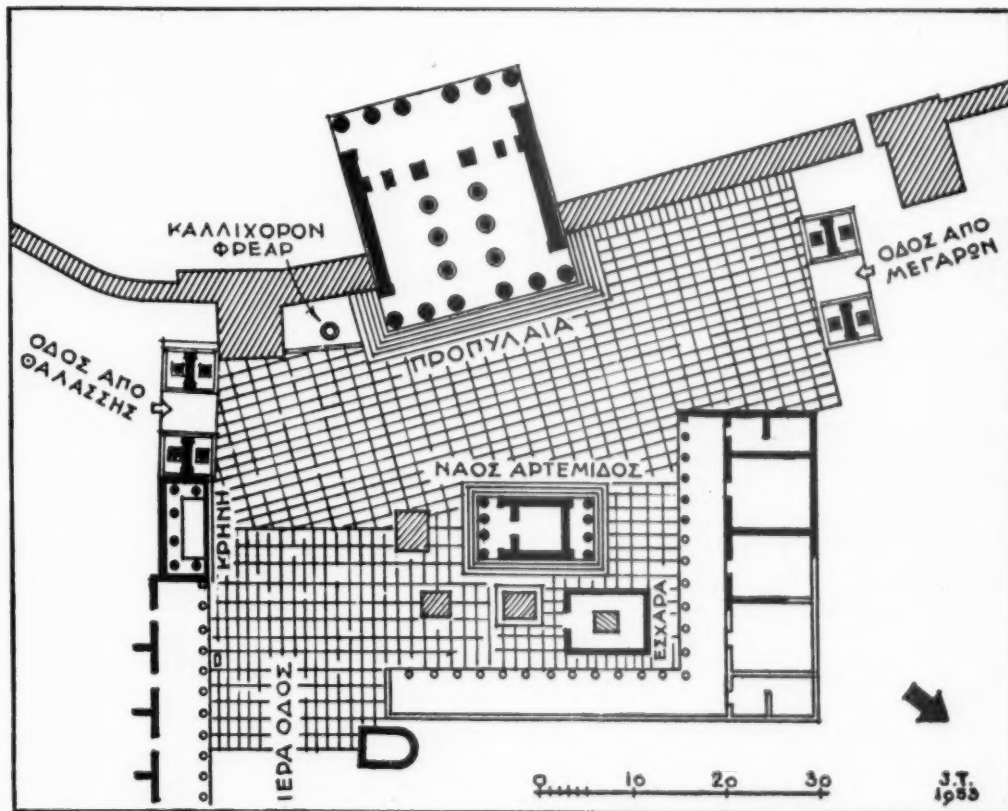
About 1½ kilometers north of Old Corinth, at the locality known as Skoutela, Mr. Pallas found and excavated a large Early Christian basilica.

A Mycenaean chamber tomb was discovered by chance in NEW CORINTH. It lies on the first terrace of the hill just south of the railway station. The chamber was low and of irregular, rounded shape. There were two cists in the floor, one of which was covered with stone slabs. About 15 skeletons were found in the tomb, not all well preserved. There were over 30 vases, a selection of which is illustrated here (pl. 44, fig. 3) from photographs by Mr. Caskey through the courtesy of Mr. Charitonides who supervised the excavation of the tomb.

In the village of Kyras Vrysi on the ISTHMUS of Corinth a local resident, engaged in deepening an ancient well which he had been using for some years, came upon a deposit of pottery of the third quarter of the fourth century B.C. The most remarkable vase is a large skyphos with applied relief decoration on the upper part of the body (pl. 45, fig. 4). On the inside of the lip is incised a dedicatory inscription which reads ΣΟΦΑ ΔΑΜΑΤΡΙ. The vase and the pottery found with it were taken to the Corinth Museum.



ILL. A. ATHENS. PLAN OF THE PIRAEUS GATE.
DRAWN BY JOHN TRAVLOS.



ILL. B. ELEUSIS. GREATER PROPYLAEA AND ENTRANCE COURT, WITH NEWLY DISCOVERED STOAS.
PLAN BY JOHN TRAVLOS.

At MYCENAE Mr. Papadimitriou continued the excavation of the grave circle outside the walls with the same success as last year. Nine large shaft graves and three smaller ones were opened. They contained a wealth of objects, including many handsome vases of terracotta and some of bronze, silver, and gold. Most unusual was a plastic vase of rock crystal in the form of a duck. Many bronze weapons and countless ornaments were found. Over one of the graves part of a stele with its poros base was found *in situ*. The rock crystal duck has been published in *ILN* February 20, 1954; other articles on the grave circle appear in *ILN* February 27 and March 6, 1954. A few graves still remain to be dug in this grave circle.

Mr. Wace also worked at Mycenae in the houses to the north and south of the "House of the Oil Merchant" and he has published two articles on his dig in *ILN* for November 14 and 21, 1953. Many fragments of carved ivories came to light. They seem originally to have been inlays for furniture, boxes, and the like. Most unusual are a head of a warrior in high relief wearing a boar's tusk helmet, and a plaque with a pair of sphinxes facing each other. Both houses produced examples of Linear B writing. From one came an inscribed clay tablet, from the other seven clay seals with a seal impression on one side and incised inscriptions on the other. This gives further proof of the widespread knowledge of writing in Mycenaean times. The large, rich houses which Mr. Wace has been excavating in recent years lie outside the citadel, which he interprets to show that in the thirteenth century, the date of the houses, Mycenae was strong and in no danger of attack. Two graves were dug, one Proto-geometric, one early Geometric, further evidence that Mycenae continued to be inhabited even after the sack of the citadel at the end of the Bronze Age. The inscribed tablets found in 1952 have been published by Mr. Bennett in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 97 (1953) 422-470.

Over the hills some five kilometers east of Mycenae, in the small enclosed valley of PROSIMNI-BERBATI, a Swedish Mission under Mr. Åkerström undertook some excavations. The aim was to get supplementary information on the Late Helladic settlement (a potter's factory) excavated in 1936-38 on the eastern slope of the hillock which the villagers call "Mastos." Among the finds may be mentioned a large, open krater of LH III B date with a representation of a pair of fighting bulls on either side. Vases with this type of decoration are well known in Cyprus; the Berbati piece, however, is poorly fired and cracked on one side and may be of local manu-

facture. Twelve more Middle Helladic tombs were found. One of them contained five small vases, three gray Minyan, one with dark on light decoration, one with light on dark.

The French School again conducted a large campaign at ARGOS, working in and around the Agora and in the cemeteries. In the Agora the principal new discovery was a small, circular building about 8 m. in diameter which, as we learn from a fragment of the inscribed architrave and frieze, was a fountain. Its date may be second century A.D. The Odeion, which lies on the lowest slopes of the Larissa, south of the theatre and the large Roman building, was completely uncovered. The orchestra, the two diazomas, and the parodoi had mosaic pavements. The building may be dated in the third or fourth century A.D. Traces of an earlier hall on the same spot with rectilinear instead of curving seats can be made out. In the cemeteries fifty-eight graves were excavated ranging in date from Middle Helladic to Roman; thirty of them were Protogeometric or Geometric. The most remarkable discovery was a set of armor consisting of a bronze cuirass and helmet. The cuirass (pl. 45, fig. 5) is complete and is made in two parts, front and back. At the edges there is a reinforcing wire of iron around which the bronze has been rolled. The inside was lined with cloth, traces of which were found at several points. The decoration is limited to a repoussé belt and three bands at the lower edge, one of which is decorated with dotted circles. The modelling is summary, but the groove marking the lower border of the thorax rises in a high, supple curve. The helmet has a conical crown from which rises a high crest; giving it a total height of nearly 0.40 m. The curving member of the crest is decorated with sixteen conical rosettes. The cheek pieces are fixed and are pierced at the upper end with holes for hearing. This armor may be dated by the vases found with it to the end of the eighth century B.C. The tomb in which it was found was exceptionally long (3.15 m.); it also contained two iron axes, twelve obeloi, three gold rings and fragments of gold leaf. We may also mention two geometric vases from other tombs, one (pl. 45, fig. 6) a pithos, 1.10 m. high, with a tripod foot in the form of handles and decorated in a style recalling Attic work, the other (pl. 45, fig. 7) a fine krater, 0.60 m. in diameter, remarkable for certain technical innovations, some added white being used on the figures on one side, the faces being drawn in outline on the other. Some of the finds are on exhibit in a temporary museum in the Town Hall.

Mr. Charitonides excavated some geometric graves in the suburb of Pronoia in NAUPLIA.

Mr. Caskey continued his excavation of the prehistoric mound at LERNA. An article on the first two seasons' work has just appeared in *Hesperia* 23 (1954) 1-30.

The Athens press (particularly *Vima*, November 19, 1953) reports the discovery of Mycenaean tombs at EPIDAUROS LIMERA near Monemvasia. A number of small, LH III vases were found and were taken to the Sparta Museum.

Mr. N. Giannakopoulos publishes in the periodical *Platon* (Vol. V, 147-158, Athens 1953) three previously unknown boundary stones marking the boundary between LACONIA and MESSENIA. He adds a discussion of the history of the boundary dispute and the course of the boundary.

Mr. Blegen continued his excavation at PYLOS, and a report has already appeared in this *Journal* 58 (1954) 27-32. (Also *Archaeology* 6 [1953] 203-207 and *ILN* December 5, 1953 and January 16, 1954.) Mr. Bennett is spending the winter of 1953-54 in Athens working on the inscribed tablets and has found among the unpublished ones some support for the Ventris-Chadwick system as set forth in *JHS* 73 (1953) 84-103 (a briefer account in *Antiquity* 27 [1953] 196-206). Mr. Marinatos continued his excavation of tombs in the Pylos area; his most remarkable find was a Mycenaean rhyton with plastic stag's heads projecting from the shoulder.

At OLYMPIA the German Institute began the removal of the very deep, late deposits overlying the southern half of the Leonidaion, thus preparing the way for the excavation of the building proper next season.

In the southwest corner of the Stadium the last remaining earth of the ancient embankment was removed. Underneath it a well was discovered which had been closed in the sixth century B.C. when the archaic stadium was created. In the well many bronzes were found, including six greaves, three helmets, the crest of a helmet in the form of a horn and ear of a bull, a tripod leg of the seventh century B.C., large and well preserved with figured scenes in four panels one above the other, and finally a remarkable bronze figure 0.40 m. high of a youth holding a tripod ring, datable to about 700 B.C.

The many bronzes found just before the war have been unpacked and are being cleaned. Among them are a number of fine helmets found in the embankment of the fourth century stadium. One of these is inscribed in Attic letters of the early fifth century B.C. "Miltiades dedicated (the helmet) to Zeus." The upper part of the helmet is crushed but the inscription which is on the lower edge of the cheek piece and carries around to the back is complete and clearly legible except for a few letters of the verb.

There can be no doubt that the dedication was made by the great Miltiades, the hero of Marathon, but we cannot be sure of the occasion.

A number of discoveries made in the environs of Olympia are reported by Mr. Yalouris. Some disturbed Geometric graves were noted on the right bank of the Kladeos back of the Olympia railway station.

On a hilltop called Arnokatarako, a dominating height across the Alpheios from Olympia, Mr. Yalouris excavated a small prostyle temple (over-all dimensions 8.40 x 4.55 m.) of the late sixth century B.C. (pl. 45, fig. 8). Fragments of triglyphs show that it was of the Doric order. A stone found in the cella inscribed in archaic letters ΤΩ ΔΙΩΙ shows that the temple was dedicated to Zeus. It is not mentioned in ancient authors. Eight meters east of the temple, fragments of Neolithic pottery were found. On the nearby hill of St. Elias another temple was located and partially excavated.

About 4 kilometers southwest of Olympia and across the Alpheios at the locality known as Kania, just outside the village of Makrysia, two Mycenaean chamber tombs were discovered. Each tomb contained about ten skeletons and a great many vases (LH III), some of local manufacture, some imported. Two large, handsome vases of local fabric are illustrated in plate 46, fig. 9 (Ht. ca. 0.50 m.). On two heights dominating the valley of the Alpheios not far from these tombs, traces of two Mycenaean settlements were discovered. These are the first Mycenaean remains of any consequence to be found in the Olympia area.

The PATRAS Museum has recently acquired two noteworthy pieces of sculpture. The first is a grave relief of about 420 B.C. with a standing woman holding a pyxis (Ht. 0.50 m.). It comes from Old Pleuron in Aetolia. The second is a copy of the Aphrodite of Doidalsas with the head very well preserved; the extremities of the hands and feet are missing. It is a work of late Hellenistic times and was found in the wall of a small shop in Patras.

A number of Mycenaean tombs are reported by Mr. Yalouris in the Patras area. Most interesting is one at Kallithea on the heights south of Patras, before Chalandritsa, where the late Mr. Kyparisses had previously excavated many tombs. In it were found some LH III vases, a bronze sword, a bronze spear head and a bronze greave. This is the only known Mycenaean greave except for one found at Enkomi, Cyprus. It was held in place by a wire which could be fastened to a hook on the opposite side. The surface is decorated with relief bands imitating leather laces.

In the upper town of AIGION Mr. Yalouris reports

the discovery of two ancient buildings which were excavated by the town authorities. The first, which is near the Old Reservoir, is a square building 6.50 m. on a side, perhaps of Roman times. Built into its walls are five half capitals and many drums of half columns of a Doric building of the second half of the fifth century B.C. The second, a rectangular building of classical times (6.95 x 7.05 m.), is on Solomou Street nearby. On its northwest side are projecting antae 3.80 m. long which do not continue the line of the side walls but are placed a meter outside them. The walls are preserved to a height of a meter; they are of polygonal masonry on the NW side, ashlar on the other three sides. The foundations are deeply and carefully laid. The space between the antae is paved with thick slabs.

The archaeological collection of Aigion has been moved to a new building and the work of arranging it has commenced. Many new objects have been acquired from private collections in the town.

A Roman tomb near Trypiti outside Aigion has its walls decorated with garlands, boukrania and ivy branches.

In the village of Pavlitsa (ancient PHIGALIA) some dedicatory and sepulchral inscriptions were found. There are two fragments of the frieze of the temple of Apollo at BASSAI in a house in Pavlitsa and two others were found near the temple itself, as Mr. Yalouris reports. The Phigalia kouros (Richter, *Kouroi* p. 110) has been transferred to the Olympia Museum.

A more than life-sized torso of Asklepios wearing a himation from the gorge Trani Lakka at Bertsa, Gortynia, has been taken to the Olympia Museum. Mr. Yalouris believes that this is the "female statue" referred to by E. Meyer *Pelop. Wanderungen* p. 99.

At TEGEA the museum building has been repaired and the objects re-installed under the supervision of Mr. Charitonides.

NORTHERN GREECE

In the honorary volume *Geras Antoniou Keramopoulou* (pp. 635-646) Mr. Mastrokostas publishes a fragment of an archaic inscription found at DELPHI in 1953 on which he reads the name of Rhodopis the famous courtesan who, as we learn from Herodotos (II, 134-135) and other authors, dedicated a tithe of her earnings to Apollo.

Mr. Mastrokostas also reports the chance discovery of some graves of geometric and classical times at AMPHIKLEIA in Phokis. One of the classical graves produced a plastic vase (pl. 46, fig. 10), a black-figured lekythos with Achilles and Ajax playing draughts in the presence of Athena, and several black-glazed vases. One of the Geometric graves

was richly furnished with a great variety of bronzes. From another came the brooch illustrated on plate 46, fig. 11.

Mr. Yalouris reports the discovery of a number of inscriptions (decrees and tombstones) in a gorge near NAUPAKTOS. They were taken to the local Gymnasium. He also reports that the Museum at AGRINION has acquired a goodly number of inscriptions as well as bronzes, terracottas and other small objects.

In KASSOPE Mr. Dakaris continued work in the large, nearly square building that he has been excavating for several seasons. The large central court and the four colonnades surrounding it were completely cleared. Some of the eight-sided columns and their Doric capitals were set up on the stylobate. Three more rooms were also excavated. Mr. Dakaris now believes that this hundred-foot building was the Katagogion of the city rather than the Prytaneion since it contains no Common Hearth. The building appears to have been abandoned in the first century B.C.

Mr. Dakaris reports some chance finds from NIKOPOLIS including a life-sized marble head of a man left unfinished because of flaws in the marble, and four inscribed tombstones on one of which we read Μάρκος Μάρκου | Ἐφηβοφύλαξ ἐτῶν ΣΖ | Χαίρει.

By the church of St. Athanasios near the village of THESPROTIKON in the Preveza district Mr. Dakaris noted the existence of some circular prehistoric structures. In one of them he found part of a stone axe head pierced with a hole.

At DODONA Mr. Evangelides continued his excavations. He discovered an inscribed stele of the middle of the fourth century B.C. with a decree granting citizenship to two women. He also found an archaic bronze statuette of a reclining komast.

Near the 32nd kilometer post on the road leading northward from IOANNINA towards Kalpaki, and to the left of the road, four cist graves were discovered by soldiers. Mr. Dakaris reports the following facts about them. The sides and bottoms of the graves were lined with large limestone slabs. One was the grave of a child and had no offerings. The second was that of a man and contained a handsome bronze dagger (length 0.34 m.) of late Hellenic III times, a bronze spear head and a sickle-shaped knife blade. The third, probably of a woman, contained a bronze handle and a bronze bracelet whose ends terminate in broad spirals. The fourth grave contained two skeletons lying in opposite directions. In this grave were found similar bracelets and handles, two beads of rock crystal, one of amber and one of chalcedony. There was also a bi-conical clay

bead. These graves are of considerable importance, being the first of Mycenaean times to be found in this area.

Mr. K. A. Papageorgiou has written an interesting article on the identification of the SYBOTA ISLANDS which lie off the coast of Epiros opposite the southern tip of Corcyra, and near which a naval battle was fought in 433 B.C. between the Corinthians and Corcyraeans (Thucydides I, 45-55). The article appeared in the March 1953 number of *Epeirotike Estia*, a monthly review published in Ioannina. The author rejects the usual identification with the two small islands now called Sybota: they are not directly opposite the promontory of Leukimne in Corcyra; their area is too small to allow the crews of the 110 Corcyraean ships to encamp there; they contain no suitable harbor for these ships; the mainland opposite them has no harbor which could hold the 150 Corinthian ships and no camping ground for the crews and the land forces of the barbarians who had come to their aid. Finally, we learn from Procopius (VIII, 22, 30) that a Gothic force sacked Corcyra and the Sybota islands; this shows that the islands were inhabited, yet there are no ancient remains on the islands now called Sybota.

Mr. Papageorgiou suggests instead a group of twelve islands a little farther north at the mouth of the Kalamas (ancient Thyamis) river (Ill. C). Most of these islands are now connected with the mainland and appear as hills rising from the flat, partly marshy plain at the mouth of the river. Mr. Papageorgiou believes, however, that much of this plain is of relatively recent formation and that in the fifth century B.C. these hills were islands off the mouth of the river. Lugia and Astravetsi are the two most likely places for the Corcyraean encampment, and they can still be approached from the sea by fairly large vessels. Lugia is connected only by a narrow sand spit with the adjacent marshy mainland and on it are remains of an ancient town. The modern Hegoumenitsa would be the harbor of Sybota on the mainland, where the Corinthians encamped. The two small islands now called Sybota would be the "islets not worth mentioning" to which Strabo (VII, 7, 5) refers and which must lie between Sybota on the north and Cape Cheimerion on the south; Strabo's islets cannot be identified if we equate modern and ancient Sybota. (On the generally accepted view see most recently A. W. Gomme, *Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, and N. G. L. Hammond, in *JHS* 65 [1945] 26-37.)

Mr. Papageorgiou has other articles in the May and June 1953 numbers of the same review in which he discusses some topographical problems of the area around the mouth of the Acheron River.

Mr. Verdelis made further explorations in the cemetery along the main road west of the town of PHARSALA. He discovered another Mycenaean tomb which, added to the two found last year, shows that there was a Mycenaean cemetery in the same location as the Classical. These are the first substantial Mycenaean remains to be found at Pharsala and strengthen the view that the town was in fact the Homeric Phthia, the home of Achilles. The Mycenaean acropolis may have been on the low hill above the source of the Apidanos, now crowned with the Turkish mosque of Fetih, as already suggested by F. Stählin, *Das Hellenische Thessalien*, p. 136, and plan p. 138. A classical grave yielded a bronze hydria of the second half of the fourth century B.C. with a Nike in relief below the handle.

Near PTELEON Mr. Verdelis dug two more tholos tombs close to the one found in 1951. The tombs had been disturbed and contained no finds of importance, but their presence in the vicinity of classical Pteleon shows that Homeric Pteleon occupied the same site. Near the church of St. Theodore at the locality Metaphio in the same district Mr. Verdelis discovered some Hellenistic houses. The plans were completely preserved in the case of two houses, partially in the case of two others.

The Trikala newspaper *Anagenesis* for November 29, 1950 (Serial No. 14628) publishes the following inscription:

ΣΤΡΑΤ[ΑΓΟΣ Π]ΑΡ[Μ]ΕΝ[ΟΝ ΕΤΧ]ΗΝ

The inscription was seen, copied, and reported in a letter to the newspaper by Lieutenant D. A. Stamires, a reserve officer who was doing military service in the area at the time. I owe my knowledge of it to his brother, Mr. G. A. Stamires, who supplied me with a photostat of the newspaper article. The inscription was found during the construction of the Trikala-Arta road at a point about four kilometers south of the village of Argitheia in western Thessaly (ancient ARGETHIA, Stählin, *op. cit.* pp. 127, 147). The locality is known as Hellenika and it is reported that graves, coins and vases have also been found in the area, although Lt. Stamires saw none. The stone, which was broken into three pieces, was roughly worked below; above there was a moulding and the inscription. On top was a cutting for the dedication; some lead still remained in it. Lt. Stamires thought that the inscription was earlier than imperial Roman times. The stone was taken to the village of Argitheia.

The Salonica newspaper *Makedonia* (March 24, 1953) reports the discovery of an inscribed tombstone at the village of Ano Vevi ("Ανω Βεύη) near Florina. The stone is decorated with a relief showing a horse-

man followed by an attendant on foot approaching a goddess who is seated on a throne with an altar in front of her. The inscription below the relief reads as follows: ANTIPATPON PTMH|TAAKOT HPQA | ETQN — KE — AMMIA | ANTIFONOT H MHTHP. The date appears to be late Hellenistic or early Roman.

Mr. Makaronas excavated an elaborate Hellenistic chamber tomb at STAVROUPOLIS near Xanthi.

A Salonica newspaper (*Ellenike Borra*, May 10, 1953) and two Athens newspapers (*Vima*, May 14, and *Apoyevmatini*, June 12, 1953) report the discovery of an inscribed stele near PHERAI, a town in Thrace on the lower Hebros river 28 kilometers east of Alexandroupolis. The stele was taken to the Gymnasium at Pherai. It is cylindrical, 1.60 m. high, 0.40 m. in diameter, and evidently stood on a base, for there are dowel holes below. It is of local stone which indicates that it has not been transported from elsewhere. The inscription is faint and some letters are missing at the right end of each line. It has been read by Mr. Euthymiou, Professor at the Gymnasium in Didymoteichon and epimelete of antiquities for the area. His text is as follows:

ΑΤΤΟΚΡΑ . . .
Γ. ΙΟΤΑΙΩ Ο . . .
ΜΑΞΙΜΙΝΩ . . .
ΒΑΚΤΩ Κ . . .
ΑΙΟΤ ΟΝΟ . . .
ΜΑΞΙ . . . ΟΤ C . . .
ΒΑΚΤ . . . Η ΑΒ . . .
ΩΝ ΠΟΑΙC

It is a dedication to the emperor Maximinus (A.D. 235-8) and was set up by the city of Abera as is shown by the last two lines which Mr. Euthymiou restores Η ΑΒ[ΗΡ]ΩΝ ΠΟΑΙC. This is the first known mention of an ancient city called Abera (Ἀβήρα). A Byzantine city Bera (Βήρα) is recorded, however, and it has generally been supposed to occupy the site of the modern Pherai; the evidence for this is marshalled by Professor A. K. Orlandos in the periodical *Thrakika* IV (1933) 3-7. This view is now confirmed by the newly found inscription.

ISLANDS

Severe earthquakes shook the IONIAN ISLANDS in the late summer of 1953. The Museum in Zakynthos, which contained chiefly ikons and other mediaeval objects, caught fire and was destroyed along with its contents. The archives which dated back to 1490 were also destroyed. The Archaeological Service has collected such ikons and other works of art as survived in churches not wholly destroyed, and these will form the nucleus of a new collection. The Museum building in Argostoli, Kephallenia, was badly shaken and will have to be rebuilt. It did

not collapse, however, and so the antiquities suffered only minor damage. The same is true of the collections in Ithaka.

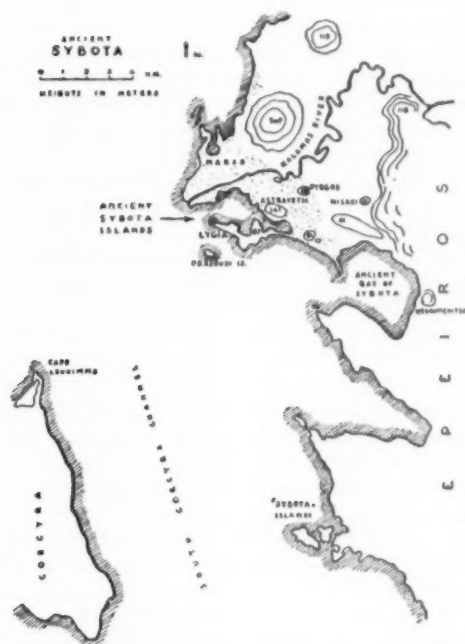
At the temple of Aphaia in AEGINA Mr. Orlandos did some important conservation and reconstruction. The ugly iron bands that had been placed around some of the damaged columns were removed. Broken parts of the columns and capitals were filled out with pieces of poros stone brought from the same quarries which had supplied the material for the building in antiquity. At the northeast corner of the temple a section of the triglyph and metope frieze and some geison blocks were replaced. Three interior columns were re-erected, and two epistyles and a fragment of one of the upper columns were placed on them.

The French School continued its work at THASOS. The excavation of the Agora was completed and four Doric stoa columns were re-erected. Some work was also done in the area of the commercial port and in the Hellenistic-Roman cemeteries. The arch of Caracalla, first excavated in 1911, was restudied.

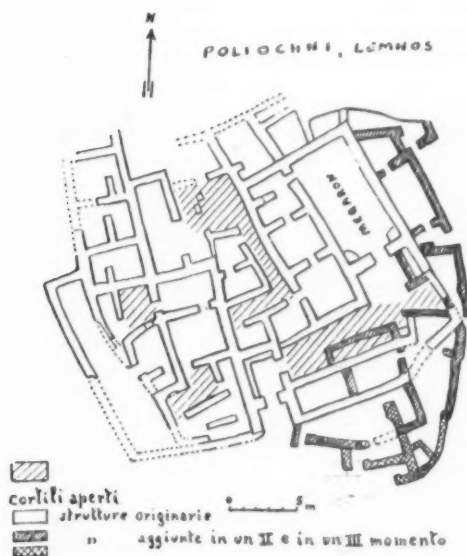
The season's campaign at SAMOTHRACE was devoted to clearing the area east of the New Temple, moving large quantities of earth and tidying the remaining parts of the sanctuary proper. The central unit of the local museum was built and Mr. Lehmann plans to complete the remainder of the building in 1954.

The Italian archaeological mission to LEMNOS under Mr. Bernabo-Brea continued its work at the prehistoric city of Poliochni near the promontory of Vroskopo on the east coast of the island, not far from the village of Kaminia. The mission's main objective continues to be the publication of the excavations of the Italian School of the years 1930-1936, and much time was, therefore, spent on studying and mending the material from the old excavations.

New excavations on a considerable scale were also undertaken for the double purpose of making a careful check of the stratification and of connecting up the two principal areas previously excavated which had remained separated by an unexcavated zone. The new excavation brought to light a large *insula* comprising at least two distinct houses with numerous storerooms or workshops (Ill. D). One of the houses has as its principal room a large, rectangular megaron 8.50 x 4.25 m., which faces south, with a porch opening on a large paved court. The megaron is flanked on the west by a series of four small rooms suitable for storage. From these one passes into a small, paved court off which open various rooms which were certainly the living quarters of the family. In the western part of the



ILL. C. MAP OF ANCIENT SYBOTA AND CORCYRA CHANNEL.



ILL. D. POLIOCHNI, LEMNOS. HOUSES OF THE EARLY BRONZE AGE. SHADED AREAS ARE OPEN COURTYARDS. SHADED WALLS ARE LATER ADDITIONS.

insula is a second house, smaller and less elaborate than the first, with numerous rooms opening off two paved courts, but lacking a proper megaron. In the southern part of the *insula* are various rooms added in later times which encroach on the court of the megaron and extend out beyond the original limits of the *insula*. These seem to be storerooms or workrooms connected with agricultural activities, rather than dwellings. The whole complex was destroyed by an earthquake and on the floor were found many vases, especially large pithoi, many of which can be reconstructed. Among other finds were a flat bronze axe, a cylindrical seal of ivory with figures, and a small, stone vase which is probably Cretan.

Among the soundings to test the stratification the most rewarding was that made in the megaron described above. Bedrock was reached at a depth of about nine meters below the modern surface. The various levels have not yet been numbered, but the excavators distinguish the principal ones by colors from the top down, as follows:

Brown period. Represented only by a well with proto-Mycenaean pottery.

Orange period. Preserved *in situ* only in very small areas at the top of the mound. Pottery closely related to Troy V.

Yellow period. To this period belong most of the large houses with megaron and surrounding rooms, including that described above. This is the highest well-preserved level on the site. The pottery associated with it finds analogies at Troy from the end of Troy II through Troy IV.

Red period. Some houses on the flanks of the mound and also the final rebuilding of the city wall may be assigned to this period. Pottery similar to late Troy I and early Troy II.

Green period. In this period the third city wall, which included the quarter on the west slope of the mound, was constructed. The pottery presents some analogies with the middle phases of Troy I.

Blue period. A very long period during which Poliochni assumes an urban character. The first great circuit wall was built, then abandoned and buried under great masses of refuse. On top of this the second circuit was built and in its turn partly buried. Some of the pottery resembles that belonging to the early phases of Troy I.

Black period. Strata belonging to this period were encountered at only a few points in this campaign. In one place there were three superimposed layers of oval huts, the lowest of which rested on bedrock. Poliochni appears to have been a country village at this time. The pottery does not differ greatly from

that of the blue period, but there seem to be fewer shapes.

Mr. Contoleon conducted an excavation in the southern part of the town of Chios at the church of the Agioi Anargyroi, discovering the remains of an early Christian basilica. Built into the walls of a tomb in this basilica was a fragment of an inscribed stele with an honorary decree of the second half of the third century A.C. The name of the person honored is not preserved, but his career is sketched and he is said among other things to have written a history of the early days of Rome and of the founder himself, Remus, which "*δικαίως ἀληθὲς ἀν νομίζοιτ' εἶναι*."

Mr. M. S. F. Hood, who was recently appointed Director of the British School and is to succeed Mr. John Cook in the fall of 1954, excavated at the small town of Emporio in the southern part of the island of Chios. An early bronze age settlement, the foundations of a small archaic temple with altars, and a late Roman fortress were investigated (*ILN* January 30, 1954).

In SAMOS Mr. Bushor continued the work of rehabilitation. He also did some excavation in the deeper layers of the sanctuary finding the remains of a megaron of the early second millennium B.C.

Mr. Contoleon continued his excavation of the ancient site of Xombourgo above the village of Tripotamos on the island of TENOS. Part of a fortification wall was discovered, showing that a town existed here in antiquity, probably one of the twelve local tribes of the island. The sanctuary (pl. 46, fig. 12) which has been the principal object of Mr. Contoleon's attention lies just outside the wall, and the excavation of it was completed this year with the clearing of the western room. This room is divided into two parts by an interior wall, and its northern part may be called the "Room of the Pithoi" from the large vases found in it. There are round holes in the floor into which the pithoi were set.

One of these pithoi, a colossal vase with relief decoration, has been mended. On the neck is a winged goddess seated majestically on a throne. From her head springs a winged male figure, brandishing a spear and perhaps a thunderbolt (pl. 46, fig. 13). To the right is a tripod with a fire under the bowl; the flames are indicated by incision. Beside it crouches a nude, winged figure who is clearly tending the fire. He holds a long object in his left hand, perhaps a reed for blowing on the fire. At the left of the seated figure is a winged woman carrying a sickle-shaped object; above her is a disc which clearly represents the sun. The interpretation of this scene is difficult. It seems, however, to represent the birth or at least a manifestation of Zeus or some

early nature-divinity along with the great Mother-Goddess. On the body of the pithos are four zones of relief decoration: 1, horses; 2, contests of a hero with a lion and of lions with horses; 3, procession of chariots; 4, warriors. On fragments of another pithos a dance is represented; a flute player and a line of women holding hands. These relief pithoi from Tenos, which Mr. Contoleon dates in the late eighth century B.C., add a new and important chapter to the history of early Greek art.

An ancient cemetery has been discovered on the island of KIMOLOS, one of the smaller Cyclades just to the north and east of Melos. It is near the shore of the bay called Hellenika or Limni on the west side of the island. A private excavation was conducted under the supervision of Mr. Contoleon, Ephor of the Cyclades. About 20 undisturbed cremation burials of the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. were found. In them were over 200 vases, pithoi, kraters, oinochoai, amphorae, pyxides, and the like. The cemetery also contained burials of Classical and Hellenistic times, but all that were found belonging to these periods had been robbed. A grave stele found built into a modern wall nearby has on its upper part the bust of a woman carved in low relief; it is a unique piece and its date can hardly be later than the seventh century B.C.

In KATSAMBA, a suburb east of Herakleion in Crete, Mr. Alexiou excavated four more chamber tombs of LM II times. One of them had a spacious chamber and a carefully carved entrance. It contained three bodies which had been placed in wooden coffins, one of which retained traces of white paint. The vases from this tomb were very handsome. One was decorated with birds and fish, another had papyrus flowers. A third, a tall amphora, was decorated with helmets made of boar's tusks and having cheek pieces and a small crest.

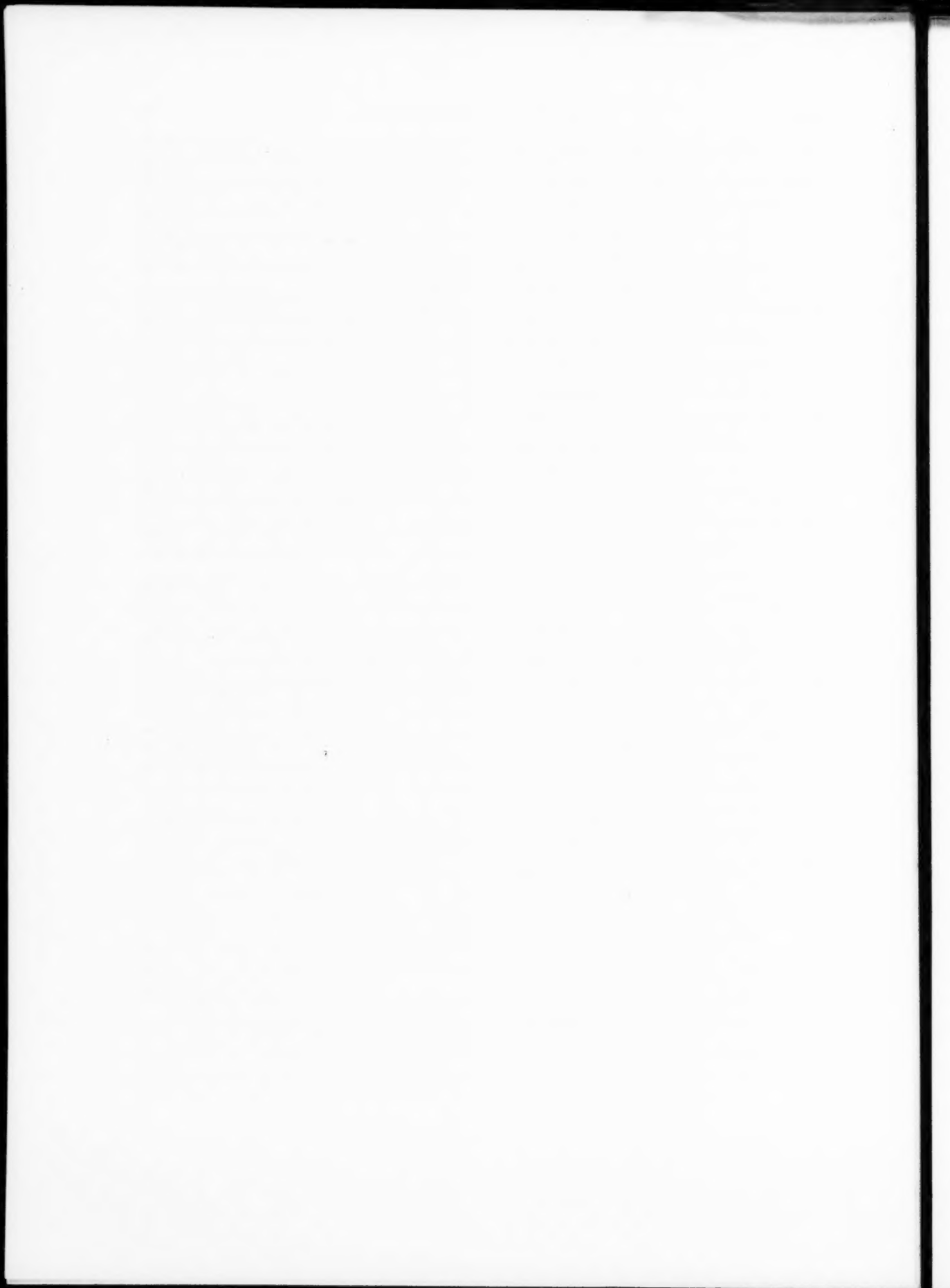
Not far from these tombs a Neolithic settlement was discovered, lying nearer the sea than any Neolithic site yet found in Crete. One house was excavated. It was large, roughly rectangular in shape,

built of small, unworked stones, and divided internally into a number of small rooms. Many vase fragments and stone implements were found in it, and also the bones of goats, sheep, and cattle. At the edge of the settlement was discovered a cave which had been used as a tomb for a long time. It was filled with human bones lying in great disorder. The pottery and stone implements were similar to those from the house.

At PHAISTOS the Italian School continued its work on the Palace under the direction of Mr. Doro Levi, concentrating on the SE edge of the great "Theatre Courtyard." The remains of the earlier Palace were explored and three phases belonging to the Middle Minoan period recognized. Many complete polychrome vases of early Kamares style were found in the debris. These early deposits also produced eight clay seal-impressions with letters incised on them and an inscribed clay tablet, one of the very few from Phaistos. These discoveries show that the invention of linear writing goes back in Crete to about the beginning of the second millennium B.C., much earlier than had previously been thought. A well-illustrated account has appeared in *ILN* for December 12, 1953.

There is no firsthand information in Athens about the bronze statue of Demeter which was recovered from the sea by Turkish fishermen off the coast of Asia Minor somewhere to the north of Rhodes. The *Illustrated London News* for November 7, 1953 publishes several photographs and an account of its discovery by Mr. G. E. Bean. The veiled head and some of the upper body are preserved at a scale somewhat over life. It appears to be a work of the fourth century B.C. and may be compared with the Demeter from Knidos in the British Museum. It has been taken to the museum in Smyrna.

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF
CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS
MARCH 1954.



NECROLOGY

SIR JOHN LINTON MYRES was born in Preston, Lancashire, England, on July 3, 1869, and died at his home in Oxford on March 6, 1954, in the eighty-fifth year of his age. Educated at Oxford, he was, barring three years (1907-10) at the University of Liverpool, connected with that University the rest of his life. He was knighted in 1943, received the Order of the British Empire in 1919, was a Fellow of the British Academy and of the Society of Antiquaries, and held many honorary degrees, from his own and other Universities, both English and foreign, and was awarded many decorations by other countries, besides those from his own nation mentioned above. He was no stranger to the United States, having twice (in 1914 and 1927) been Sather Lecturer at the University of California, while the Archaeological Institute of America honored itself by making him its Charles Eliot Norton Lecturer in 1937-38.

Sir John's principal field in archaeology was Cyprus, where he early became the leading authority on the prehistoric and Classical history and art of that island and, as a result, his name will always be most intimately associated with it. His work in Cyprus goes back to 1894, when he conducted excavations there. Of his many publications on Cypriote art, the best known in America is his *Catalogue of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus in the Metropolitan Museum*, published in 1914. He was a close friend of the late Sir Arthur Evans, and in 1952 brought out the long-awaited Volume II of *Scripta Minoa*, showing that his work included Crete (which he first visited in 1893, repeating that visit many times) as well.

His most spectacular work came in the First World War when, although even then somewhat over age for military service, he joined the R.N.V.R., rising to the rank of Acting Commander, and serving actively throughout the War. In his biography in the British *Who's Who*, this is limited to two lines, giving only rank and dates of service; but his friends and acquaintances know that there was much more that he could have included. A recent British notice of his death understates his exploits as being

"almost legendary"—leave out the word "almost," and it comes nearer to the truth. For he was the *beau idéal* of all ambitious Naval Intelligence officers—a perfect linguist, conversant in many tongues, and speaking all with ease; level-headed, and therefore able to separate fact from fiction; absolutely fearless; and withal an excellent seaman and navigator.

We of the Institute mourn his loss with our sister, the Hellenic Society, whose President he had been from 1935 to 1938; with the British School at Athens, whose Chairman he was from 1934 to 1947; with many other Societies in which he held office; and with his widow and children, who survive. His was a nature cordial, hospitable, humorous, and friendly, eager to help the young and aspiring scholar with his fund of knowledge, and, in the kindest fashion, to add to, or detract from, any promising ideas or theories. And his nature seemed as he grew older to grow more unselfish in co-operating with other archaeologists. He will be missed by a world-wide circle of admirers and friends.

S. B. L.

HENRY LAMAR CROSBY was born in Menominee, Mich., on May 17, 1880, and died in Philadelphia, Penna., on March 20, 1954. After graduating from the University of Texas with a B.A. degree in 1901, he continued there for another year, taking an M.A. in 1902. He then entered Harvard for further graduate study, receiving his M.A. in 1903, and the Ph.D. degree in 1905. After receiving this degree, he went as an Instructor to the University of Pennsylvania for a year and, after three years at the University of Missouri (1906-09) and a year at Princeton (1909-10), returned to the University of Pennsylvania in 1910 and remained there the rest of his academic career. During this time he was Director of the Summer Session from 1918 to 1925, and Dean of the Graduate School from 1928 to 1938. He was Annual Professor at the School at Athens in the year 1926-27, and Director of the School in 1938-39. On the outbreak of the Second World War, he returned to Phila-

delphia. As a result of his services to Greece, that Government awarded him the decoration of Commander of the Order of George the First. He was also an honored member of many learned Societies, and the editor and translator of Dio Chrysostom in the Loeb Classical Library.

It was this writer's privilege to be a colleague of his in Philadelphia for a number of years. His good looks (he was strikingly handsome), his personal charm, his genial and affectionate approach to his

friends, and his openly outgiving nature, are qualities that those who knew him will never forget. As a Life Member of the Institute in its Philadelphia Society, and also owing to his connections with the School at Athens, his interest in, and concern for, archaeology, were eager and constructive. The Institute joins his friends and colleagues in expressing to his widow and children the affection he so generously gave to us all, and our complete sympathy and sense of loss.

S. B. L.

BOOK REVIEWS

Kunsthalle Basel. *Schaetze altaegyptischer Kunst*, 27. Juni-13. September 1953. Pp. 78, pls. 24. Basel, 1953.

The exhibition of ancient Egyptian art held in Basle last summer was an event of far greater importance than might be assumed from this catalogue. It was the first international undertaking of this kind, presenting in an attractive setting works of art which had been brought together from 14 museums in the Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland, Germany, Austria, and Italy, as well as from a number of private collections in France and Switzerland. No great exhibition of Egyptian art had been held since the show of the Burlington Fine Arts Club of 1921, which almost exclusively presented objects from British collections. Credit has to be given to the Kunstverein Basel, long known for the splendid exhibitions it assembles year after year, and to its Curator, Dr. Robert Th. Stoll, for undertaking such an impressive work of love and labor—considerable labor one might add, since several statues of monumental size were shown here outside museums from which they had not been moved for decades, or even a century or more, since their arrival from Egypt.

This show was a "first" in many respects; it presented, for instance, a number of statues to better advantage than in their respective museums. The figure of Anen, brother-in-law of King Amenhotep III (no. 117), the bust of a king of Dynasty XXVI (no. 174), and the monumental statue of Ramesses II (no. 81) were never exhibited in such good lighting before and thus could profitably be studied at Basle. On the whole, however, the show left an impression of unevenness; it contained too many objects which by no stretch of the imagination could be considered "treasures" of Egyptian art. The general objections raised by H. Swarzenski against some aspects of the large international loan exhibitions held since the end of the war (*The Burlington Magazine* 95 [1953] 151-152) can be applied to the Basle enterprise as well, especially since the high standard set by the display of choice pieces from the former Berlin collections was not maintained in the selection of works from other museums, and the quality of most of the bronzes, for instance, was poor.

The well-designed catalogue under review was edited by Mr. Stoll who, for detailed Egyptological

information, had to rely on Miss Ursula Schweitzer of the University of Basle. Her contribution is neither scholarly nor perceptive with regard to Egyptian art, and even as a guide for the general public visiting the exhibition it is, to say the least, rather misleading. The publication opens with a preface by Mr. Stoll (pp. 5-8), which is followed by "Remarks on the Development of Egyptian Culture" by Miss Schweitzer, who only in passing touches upon Egyptian art, the main subject of the exhibition. Pp. 12-13 deal with "Deux Pionniers de l'Égyptologie en Suisse," a fitting memorial to Edouard Naville (1844-1926) and Gustave Jéquier (1868-1946) from the pen of Charles Maystre of Geneva. Then follows a chronological table of Egyptian history which, even if it were meant for the layman only, oversimplifies the problems involved and seems to be based, for the most part, on studies dating back to more than a quarter of a century ago. On the other hand, it introduces some startling dates such as "ca. 2850 B.C." for the beginning of Dynasty I, thus disregarding both Eduard Meyer's work and recent publications on the subject. The chronology ends with 332 B.C., although, by the author's own admission, a number of pieces are listed which range throughout the entire Ptolemaic Period and beyond to the second century A.D.

A translation of part of Akhnaton's sun hymn (p. 16) by Hermann Junker is followed by six pages of a *Bibliographie*, which under *Periodicals* cites none of the well-known Egyptological titles expected (including those later referred to in the text), but lists, among others, the *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, which is quite useless in this connection.

The bibliography of *Museum and Exhibition Catalogues* is equally haphazard, devoting nearly a page to catalogues of the museums of Boston, Leningrad, London, Paris and other collections which were not represented at Basle, while omitting some of those which were. This chapter ends with a list of general works, which fails to include any of the publications of Norman and Nina de Garis Davies, Henri Frankfort or William Stevenson Smith on Egyptian art.

The plates are excellent, but unfortunately illustrate, for the most part, only the familiar pieces which time and again have been pictured elsewhere. The real contribution of a catalogue of this kind would have been the publication of some of the

lesser known sculpture, especially from private collections, which thus would have become available to the student for further reference. Failing this, the bibliography of each piece should have made use of that indispensable tool of the art historian who has to deal with objects of unknown provenance, the sale catalogue. Yet, none of the approximately 60 pieces from private collections has thus been identified. To take but one example: no. 158 is described as "Head of a Man; wood; h. 24.5 cm.; Dynasty XXV; Private Collection, Basel." A reference to one of the auctions at which it was sold, or to Arthur Sambon, *Aperçu Général de l'Évolution de la Sculpture* (Paris, 1931), pl. V, would have at least identified it for posterity. Considering the number of objects listed without bibliography or illustration, the catalogue is of little help to those who were unable to amplify its information by personal notes and observations.

To the visitor confronted with any of the 275 objects which were shown at Basle the text is, however, on the whole quite helpful. A few errors are noted below; museum numbers are given sometimes, but not always; the bibliography of individual pieces is rather uneven and often gives accurate but useless references, while important titles are not cited. Very useful are the measurements indicated for each entry throughout the actual catalogue, which comprises pp. 25-78. The dates given for each piece are not consistent, sometimes obviously relying on information supplied by the owner, in other cases deviating from the accepted date without further explanation.

The following remarks are based on the reviewer's notes taken at the exhibition:

- No. 9, Black-topped pottery vessel: Incorrect is the statement that the black coloring was produced by placing the vessel upside down in hot ashes during the firing. A. Lucas (*Ancient Egyptian Materials*³, [London, 1948] pp. 432-437) found that carbon reduction was achieved only by placing the vessel *after* firing into smouldering chaff, straw, or sawdust; this has been proved by experiments made at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and elsewhere.
- No. 43, Statue of Baf-ba: Vienna no. 7785; H. Junker, *Giza VII*, pp. 155-156, pl. 30-31. The emblematic staves represent the wand and other insignia of the man's station; cf. *BMFA*, 48 (1950) 15.
- No. 46, False door of Ny-imat-Ptah: Dynasty VI (H. Junker, *Giza VIII*, p. 24).
- No. 47, Statue of Princess Redyef: rather of Dynasty III. Here, as elsewhere in the catalogue, "Museo Egiziano" should be corrected to "Museo Egizio."

- No. 51, Statue of Hen-ka as scribe: "Greatest of the Ten" (not of "the South"). The assertion that the attitude shows the man "ready to take dictation" lacks any foundation. He was a scribe, a man who knew how to write and keep records; a high-ranking official, himself literate.
- No. 56, Kneeling servant girl: Florence no. 3811. E. Schiaparelli, *Museo Archeologico di Firenze, Antichità Egizie* (Rome, 1887) p. 189, no. 1494, pl. I, fig. 1; A. Minto, *Il Regio Museo Archeologico di Firenze* (Rome, 1931) p. 35, fig. 2.
- No. 58a, Wooden statue: head and body do not belong together.
- No. 59, Limestone group of Imsu and Uat: second half of Dynasty V.
- No. 81, Monumental statue of Ramesses II: it is unlikely that this statue was made originally for a king of Dynasty XIII.
- No. 85, Stela of Sa-montu-user (rather than "User-sa-montu"): Florence no. 6365. Schiaparelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 489-490, no. 1774; A. Minto, *op. cit.*, p. 32, fig. 1.
- No. 92, Stela of Up-uat-aa: the material is limestone.
- No. 97, Relief with bearers: Berlin no. 22713. *BerlMus*, 49 (1928) p. 37, fig. 2. There is no evidence that this relief comes from Amarna.
- No. 112a, Seated couple: Florence no. 1804. Schiaparelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 217-218, no. 1516. The material is limestone, now darkened.
- No. 114, Head of an official: Berlin no. 23150. *BerlMus*, 61 (1940) pp. 1-7. The material is brown quartzite.
- No. 115, Lower part of kneeling alabaster statue of Tuthmosis II: F. W. von Bissing, in *MJb* 6 (1911) 162-163, fig. 3 on p. 165.
- No. 116, Statue of Ptah-mes: Florence no. 1791. Schiaparelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 206-208, no. 1506; *Zeit. f. aegypt. sprache u. altertumskunde* 72 (1936) 63, pl. VI, 4.
- No. 118, Head of a young man: Turin no. 3141. Farina, *Il R. Museo di Antichità*, 1932 ed., p. 49 (illus.), 1938 ed., p. 54 (illus.). The material is quartzite, not granite.
- No. 120, Statue of a baboon: Late New Kingdom.
- No. 133, Block statue of Namarut: the material is basalt.
- No. 146, Relief of a lady: Florence no. 2531. Schiaparelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 346-347, no. 1613; Minto, *op. cit.*, p. 31, fig. 2. The style as well as details, such as the inverted-cone supports of the chair feet, point to a much later date; probably end of Dynasty XXV.
- No. 160, Osiris statuette: not Taharqa himself, but merely inscribed for him.

- No. 162, Female torso: Vienna no. 5809; third century B.C.
- No. 163, Female torso: Florence no. 6315. Schiaparelli, *op. cit.*, p. 470, no. 1739. The material is red granite. As K. Bosse (*Die menschliche Figur*, etc., pp. 62-63, no. 168, pl. IX b) has already remarked, the statue dates from Dynasty XXX or the beginning of the Ptolemaic Period. The latter date is more likely in view of the inscription.
- No. 164, Block statue of Mer-en-Ptah: Turin no. 3063. The material is diorite, the date pre-Saite (second half of Dynasty XXV).
- No. 166, Naophoros of Bak-hor: Vienna no. 62. The modeling of the torso and the orthography of the inscriptions indicate that the statue dates from post-Persian times (fourth century B.C.)
- No. 167, Head of a "priest": not marble, but veined basalt; end of fourth century B.C.
- No. 167a, Head with elaborate wig: Dynasty XXX or shortly thereafter. W. Spiegelberg in *ZAS*, 64 (1929) 74-75, and 65 (1930) 103.
- No. 170, Head of a priest of Ptah: the material is brown-black basalt; pre-Saite.
- No. 171, Head of a "priest": after Dynasty XXX to third century B.C.
- No. 174, Bust of a king: Florence no. 5625. Schiaparelli, *op. cit.*, p. 209, no. 1507, pl. II; Minto, *op. cit.*, p. 31, fig. 3. The material is quartzite, the king presumably Amasis of Dynasty XXVI.
- The dates attributed to nos. 6, 32, 58 a, 86, 123, 130, 152, 158, 204, and 272 lack any basis whatsoever; as a matter of fact, most of these pieces are modern in the opinion of this reviewer. In view of the enormous efforts made and of the means expended in so ambitious an undertaking as the Basle exhibition, it is greatly to be regretted that the compilation of this catalogue was not entrusted to someone better acquainted with the field of ancient Egyptian art and archaeology.

BERNARD V. BOTHMER

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS
BOSTON

Carchemish. Report on the Excavations at Jerablus on Behalf of the British Museum. Part III, The Excavations in the Inner Town, by Sir Leonard Woolley and **The Hittite Inscriptions**, by R. D. Barnett. Pp. 157-290, figs. 62-96, pls. 29-71, AB 19-70. The Trustees of the British Museum, London, 1952. £6.

The third volume on the excavations at Carchemish completes the publication of the results obtained in the much-interrupted campaigns conducted

by the British Museum in the years 1911-14 and 1919-20. Recently Sir Leonard Woolley wrote some colorful reminiscences of this digging in the third chapter of his *Spadework*. A preliminary reading of that popular account along with the preface of the present volume offers a solid apology for some imperfections in the final report and an explanation for much else.

In the two previous Carchemish volumes a large number of sculptures had been published in photographs, made available to the general public in anticipation of a discussion by the excavators. Also, the fortification systems of the ancient city and citadel had been described and some scattered architectural findings in the lower city discussed. In the meantime, some of the cemeteries belonging to Carchemish and the prehistoric kilns at Yunus were published separately (in *Iraq* I and *AAA* VI and XXVI).

The final assignment was in the first place a presentation of the buildings to which the sculptures belonged. This is offered in chapters VIII-XII of volume III. The sculptures themselves are dealt with in chapter XIV, although much relevant information naturally is to be found in the architectural descriptions.

The second part of the book offers the stratigraphic evidence for the history and prehistory of Carchemish, as gathered from soundings in the citadel mound, and a co-ordination of the intramural burials found in the acropolis with extramural ones previously published. Third, an appendix on small objects presents a remarkable burial encountered in the North-West Fort, the "Gold Tomb," perhaps the most important tomb discovered at Carchemish. Finally there is a chapter by R. D. Barnett on the Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions. This fourth contribution to the evaluation of the Carchemish excavations is of autonomous and potentially decisive value for the understanding of this and other sites.

The responsibilities of the authors of this volume are in direct proportion to the significance of the site excavated. Carchemish is one of the mainstays of archaeology in the regions of the upper Euphrates. It is one of the oldest cities in this vicinity and one which was destined to play a leading role in history and politics of the Near East. Part and partner of the Hittite Empire, it is destroyed by the Sea Peoples only to be rebuilt in monumental form and to become a rallying center of neo-Hittite art and power. Even in Roman times a colossal building program seems to have been executed in the old city. A large temple stood on the acropolis (207) and many Roman architectural members are scattered around the river side of the mound. This Roman

phase of Carchemish still awaits separate publication.

The architectural data for the neo-Hittite level are the most welcome part of the new book. For the first time plans of structures and sequences of orthostates are co-ordinated. The study of the architectural units, incomplete though they are, provides clues to the periods of building and rebuilding, and to a distinction of original and secondary sculptural adornment. The monumental nature of the neo-Hittite city is impressively conveyed by the descriptions of the great staircase-complex with adjoining long wall of sculpture, and the opposite side of the plaza with the King's gate and Herald's wall (pls. 29ff., 41ff.). The temple West of the staircase, the Hilani across the road, and the structure on the NW acropolis (not "Sargon's Fort" but perhaps a temple of Kubaba) are all saved from oblivion or confusion by the presentation of what was still left of the original excavation records.

Backing up the well-known sculptured orthostates with their architectural setting, Sir Leonard thus has more evidence at his disposal than those scholars who have been engaged in stylistic analysis of the Carchemish sculptures since they were published and put on display in Ankara (cf. especially E. Akurgal, *Späthethitische Bildkunst*; H. G. Güterbock, *Guide to the Hittite Museum in the Bedesten at Ankara*). Sir Leonard distinguishes three phases in the sculptural decoration of the King's Gate. There is a secondary joint between the Herald's Wall and the Processional Entry, and the Royal Buttress was added at a final stage. Such observations are irrefutable. The Water-Gate sculptures are here considered early because their nature as building blocks welds them inextricably to the gate as preserved. The date of the Water-Gate depends upon matters discussed in *Carchemish II*. The original River Wall and gate are earlier than some tombs found in the intramural spaces of the wall (II, 102, 133f., pl. 27). These tombs are considered by Sir Leonard to be 18th century B.C., which may be approximately right (cf. the discussion of stratigraphy below). But the superstructure of the River Wall and the construction of the Water-Gate must have undergone repeated and considerable repairs in the course of their existence, especially after the devastating blow by the Sea Peoples.

Few will go along with Sir Leonard in assigning the preserved Water-Gate sculptures to the original construction of the River Wall complex (246ff.), and one hesitates to follow him on his excursions into the stylistic field which are unaccompanied by explanations and unsupported by architectural observations. The revolutionary claim of an early second millennium date for the Water-Gate sculptures is

made with reference to the presence of royal sculpture at Alalakh in the Mari Age (*JL N* October 28, 1947). The best preserved head from Alalakh is called "unmistakably Hittite" (239), a judgment which is as unfounded as the generally loose use of the term "Hittite" in the present volume. And the miscellaneous list of sculptures put in the Hittite, pre-1200 B.C., category by Sir Leonard (246ff.) is given no stylistic support against the overwhelming vote of modern opinion which considers them neo-Hittite.

As is sufficiently known nowadays, neo-Hittite sculpture eludes the dating methods used by classical archaeology. The only safe stylistic dates are to be derived from the presence of Assyrian mannerisms of either 9th or 8th century types, and less so from Aramaic or Phoenician intrusions in the repertoire. Sculptures showing no Assyrian influence may, but need not, antedate Assurnasirpal II's expansion in the political and sculptural field. Otherwise they are hard to distinguish and the degree of similarity to authenticated Hittite Empire sculpture has to be taken as an approximate measure in chronological sense.

Here, fortunately, stylistic analysis is not left to its own devices. The abundance of Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions at Carchemish will offer a historical framework for the sequence of sculptures. Stylistic studies will be tested and refined with the aid of epigraphic leads. The pioneering work in the decipherment of Hittite hieroglyphs is now coming to a final stage with the discovery of the bilinguals at Karatepe. Barnett's chapter on the Carchemish inscriptions is an impressive demonstration of how much can be gathered even without the full benefits of the most recent discoveries. The neo-Hittite king-list of Carchemish is shaping up and ultimately will stand by itself as a purely philological piece of evidence. At the moment the philologist still applies stylistic considerations to establish his pre-Assyrian sequence.

Is there any second millennium sculpture left at Carchemish, if one has to reject most of Sir Leonard's Water-Gate group and appendix? There are some fragments, now published for the first time, which do not seem congenial to the neo-Hittite milieu. B 52 a, a basalt fragment found in the street area, shows a man wearing a skull-cap and a fringed costume reminding one of Syrian second millennium fashions (e.g. represented in the Mari frescoes, *Syria* 18 (1937) 333, fig. 6 and pl. XXXVIII). B 66 b in costume and facial type seems a possible candidate for Hittite dating (this slab seems reworked). B 67 c, B 68 a, and perhaps B 50 b, B 51 a-b (cf. pp. 187f.) do not quite fit the regular pattern, either. Frag-

mentary unusual pieces, or generally battered orthostates found in later non-decorative context, are the most likely candidates for survival from an earlier period of Carchemish. One has to assume that the Sea Peoples did not leave much of the Hittite city intact and reusable after the storm had passed. An elaborate recutting of blocks and slabs must have preceded the neo-Hittite reconstruction. This would explain the non-functional appearance of drill-holes (a good Hittite building device) and lewis-holes in later context (180, 198, 200). Most of the remnants of the imperial Hittite level must be buried under the strata excavated so far. It is pointed out that all of the road surface exposed or probed into by the excavators turned out to belong to the neo-Hittite period (176f., 234). Within that range there is plenty of internal disturbance and late reconstruction, as indicated by the presence of fourth century Greek, black-glazed sherds under the basalt slabs of the great staircase (172f.). One wonders what the city looked like in fourth century days. May we assume that much of the neo-Hittite sculpture remained visible until then, and that the presence of an occasional archaic, East Greek looking piece of sculpture (B 67 e) is evidence that in post-Assyrian days sculptural activities had not completely subsided?

If the Hittite Empire period has hardly been touched by the excavations in the area of the lower plaza, the story of the acropolis is a different one. There soundings were made with the definite intention of approaching the earliest levels of the site. The results are incomplete and presented in a terminology which is taken over from the earlier Carchemish volumes in spite of its antiquated character. The unorthodox views held by Sir Leonard on the Hittite question seem to be at the basis of this nomenclature. Transposing it into modern terminology, we have the following sequence. The earliest traces of habitation belong to the Halaf and Ubaid periods of Mesopotamian prehistory. There are remnants of pottery and flints on the citadel (206, 208ff., 227ff., pl. 66 b and c, the latter mostly Ubaid ware), and the Yunus kilns (*Iraq* 1 [1935] 146-162) produced some handsome ceramic evidence for the Halaf stage. The Protoliterate (Uruk-Jemdet Nasr) episode is characterized by intramural burials in the citadel mound, graves apparently without special tomb furniture but perhaps connected with food offerings in well-known Mesopotamian "bevelled rim bowls" (pl. 52, p. 217, corresponding to Braidwood's Amuq F, cf. P. Delougaz *OIP* LXIII, 39, 127f. The connection with the graves is doubtful).

For the Early Dynastic levels as known from Mesopotamian sites we have pottery occurrences from citadel soundings (228, pl. 66 a) and again intramural

burials, this time both of jar- and cist-grave type, with more elaborate and especially metal tomb gifts (219ff.). The ceramic tomb gifts include such typical Early Dynastic items as reserved-slip jars (229, pl. 58 c) known from Mesopotamia and N. Syria (Delougaz, *OIP* LXIII pl. 39, p. 133, Amuq G-H), early goblet shapes again familiar in Amuq G, and the so-called champagne cups which are a variant on an Early Dynastic type of vessel (pls. 57-59). The affinities with N. Syrian and N. Mesopotamian material are clear and the term Early Hittite for this period is a misnomer.

In the next archaeological stage an elaborate stepped fortification wall of mudbrick is built around the citadel. It has a compartment system of interior chambers much like the later outer wall of Carchemish, or like the circuit wall of Mersin XVI and later, Hittite, constructions (209). If the correlations are correct, this is the period approaching that of the cemetery near the village of Amarna south of Carchemish (*AAA* 6 [1914] 87-98). The graves here closely follow in period those at Hammam (somewhat further to the South) which are Early Dynastic and Akkadian (*op. cit.* pl. XXII; Amuq J. These Amuq comparisons are based on R. J. Braidwood's paper given at the symposium of the American Anthropological Association held in Philadelphia in 1952, to be published shortly. Cf. also the forthcoming *OIP* LXI). The pottery from Amarna consists mostly of ring-burnished jars and bottles of developed Akkadian types. At Hammam there is some ware painted with fine red lines over the ring-burnish, but the so-called Khabur ware is still absent. The date for these cemeteries, therefore, may be considered as pre-2000 B.C. The graves of the River Wall (Carchemish II, 133, pl. 27) seem to represent the next stage, i.e. early second millennium (Amuq K-L-M range, as kindly suggested to me by R. J. Braidwood. Some material from Atchana is connected with the pottery class represented in the River Wall graves, cf. *AntJ* 18 [1938] 11 and pl. XVI, 2; 19 [1939] pl. XVI, 30 [1950] 18f., pl. IX c, d. A thorough stratigraphic analysis of levels containing this pottery will have to determine its sequence, which seems to run through the M.B. period).

In the volume discussed, the Amarna cemetery and the River Wall tombs are lumped together under the label of Middle Hittite (224ff.), and dated to ca. 1750-1200 B.C. The term "Hittite" is inappropriate for the late Akkadian cemetery of Amarna, and of doubtful value in the case of the River Wall tombs. The term "Amarna Age" (214, note 1) is altogether to be avoided, just as that of Late Bronze (224), since such names are firmly established for

other categories of material. The treatment of these graves and the late dates assigned them by Sir Leonard are influenced by his desire to have the Hittite period properly represented in the tomb sequences at Carchemish (214, note 1). No *petitio principii* can obscure the fact that at present the bulk of the Hittite graves at Carchemish, in the most liberal sense of the word those of the period from 2000-1200 B.C. but especially those of 1400-1200 B.C., have not yet been found. This is regrettable because the question of grave types, and the possible occurrence of cremation, cannot as yet be decided.

The tombs of the Hittite period can be assumed to await discovery as an extramural cemetery. The Hittite level of the citadel mound seems to be badly razed and interfered with by neo-Hittite and Roman building activities. The fact that Carchemish had close relations with genuine Hittite Empire art is convincingly demonstrated by the contents of the "Gold Tomb," apparently an Iron Age cremation, found in the North-West Fort (250ff.). Its ceramic containers are of a plain type that conceivably could belong to the pre-1200 phase, although stratigraphic evidence seems to plead against this assignment. The jewelry thrown into the cremation pit is unique in Hittite archaeology as a miniature set of figures of gold, lapis and steatite, all in the purest Hittite style as known from the iconography of Boğazköy and contemporary centers. This jewelry is an heirloom of pre-1200 B.C. days and a proof of the fact that Carchemish was familiar with central Anatolian Hittite iconography. It is entirely different from the neo-Hittite repertoire of the Carchemish sculptures as preserved, including the Water-Gate. This unique find gives one great confidence about the potential wealth of material still to be gathered from the true Hittite levels at Carchemish. It is to be regretted that these works of art do not receive the illustrations and enlargements due to their importance. The least satisfactory plate deals with this precious material (pl. 64).

We are left with considerable information and good plates of the neo-Hittite stage of the site. The sculptures are what makes Carchemish famous in archaeology at the present. Much has happened to obscure the setting in which they were found, and we have no articulated stratigraphy on the city-mound to accompany the excellent data from the Yunus cemetery AAA 26 [1939] 11-37, the cremation field of the neo-Hittite inhabitants. The thorough jumble of strata in the street and plaza area was caused by Hellenistic and Roman people (whose unguentaria appear in this account as "seventh century B.C. 'baluster' ampullae" [234]). There is no reason to blame the excavators for the unfinished

status of an excavation which was interrupted by modern violence. One does, however, feel that a publication so long overdue could have been modernized in terminology and comparative appreciation of its material. The continued strategic importance of Carchemish makes it unlikely that another expedition can be organized in the near future. One hopes for peaceful conditions which would allow this venerable city on the Euphrates to reclaim fully its prominent position in ancient history with the aid of modern archaeology.

MACHTELD J. MELLINK

BYRN MAWR COLLEGE

Prélydiens, Hittites et Achéens, by René Dussaud. Pp. 186, figs. 52. Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, Paris, 1953. 1350 frs.

This monograph is a rewritten version of a study published in 1930 under the title of *La Lydie et ses voisins aux hautes époques*. The material evidence having increased considerably in the last twenty years, M. Dussaud now wants to re-examine his thesis of the importance of the Lydians (and their predecessors in Lydia) as intermediaries who would have transmitted oriental goods to the Aegean.

This thesis is based on two assumptions in particular. The first is that the half-mythological, but perhaps historical, penetration of Akkadian kings into Asia Minor (Sargon, Naramsin), and the Assyrian trade of the early second millennium, went as far west as the region of Lydia and deposited a fair amount of oriental influence to mature in this region.

There is no concrete proof of the historical character of Akkadian campaigns undertaken in Asia Minor in support of merchants established on the plateau. The excavations at Kültepe, however, having determined the sequence and details of Assyrian colonization in Asia Minor, may well continue to prove that there was a prelude to this commercial expansion as early as Akkadian times. Even so, the extent of such hypothetical expansion would not exceed the Halys river, well known to Dussaud as an important natural border (62). Mesopotamian influences did not penetrate the Lydian area via the overland route in the third millennium. Any oriental stimulation that may have reached these parts would have been transmitted indirectly by coastal trade. And the impact of the Assyrian trade was concentrated on the plateau, with perhaps a slight trickle of goods further west.

The second pillar in the pre-Lydian argument is the group of cylinder-stamp seals exemplified by the

Tyszkiewicz seal in Boston (89 ff.). These second millennium seals are attributed to the Lydian area on very tenuous grounds: they are supposed to illustrate magic rites referring to droughts, which mythologically are attested for Lydia by classical authors; and their griffin-headed demons are thought to be related to the hawks popular in Ephesian iconography. Neither of these grounds is acceptable. A modern re-examination of these seals has to start with a study of the material from Boğazköy presented by Güterbock (*Siegel aus Boğazköy* II, pp. 33, 49).

The rest of the monograph consists of excursions into the field of archaeology and prehistory. One regrets to state that the range of M. Dussaud's distinguished learning does not extend to Anatolia. His sources are incomplete, and strong objections have to be voiced against the archaeological sketch offered here (partly based on Schaeffer's *Stratigraphie Comparée*). Anatolian archaeology and history are in dynamic progress. Lydia may emerge from these investigations as a reservoir of second millennium traditions. M. Dussaud wants to emphasize that in Hittite times Lydia was isolated, and that little contact with central Anatolia was maintained. The few extant Hittite monuments in Western Anatolia are therefore minimized in their importance. To an objective observer they are more evident than the effects of Mesopotamian trade on Lydia, or the pre-Lydian character of the Tyszkiewicz seal group.

What is remarkable about the historical Lydian tradition is the preservation of such second millennium type names as Alyattes and Sadyattes (Goetze, *Kulturgeschichte des alten Orients, Kleinasien*, 193). There are strong indications that this is the direction in which research about the old heritage in Lydia will be successful. This road will never lead to Mesopotamia, but it may turn into a very scenic detour around the coast of Anatolia and into the heart of the Hittite land.

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BRVN MAWR COLLEGE

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, USA fasc. 11, The Metropolitan Museum of Art fasc. 2, Attic Black-figured Kylikes, by Gisela M. A. Richter. Pp. xvii + 22, pls. 42. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1953. \$5.00.

The second fascicule of the Metropolitan Museum is full of interest and we have to thank Miss Richter for having given us a homogeneous publication which contains only black-figured cups, largely un-

published. The reproductions are excellent, the photographs clear and without highlights. The fascicule begins with a rather lengthy introduction which sums up well the earlier works on black-figured cups and stresses the special interest of the Attic potters in cups. The impression of the whole is hence excellent—an impression strengthened by lucid and precise descriptions which are often supplemented as regards the representations by comparisons with other vases, and, as far as possible, by attributions to painters, which are taken from the best source (Sir John Beazley).

We may, however, be permitted to make some detailed remarks of a practical nature. The *Corpus* is, to be sure, a scholarly publication, but it is above all a reference work which should furnish the scholar with all the useful information on the vases published, along with good reproductions. We know that this kind of publication is costly and that the *Corpus* as such, largely for financial reasons, is still far from completion. Now, the fascicule by Miss Richter is perhaps too rich. There are in the text, in connection with almost every cup, a series of general remarks on the pertinent types which, as it were, transform this fascicule of the *CVA* into a handbook on black-figured cups. The illustrations, too, transgress perhaps by their superabundance. There are about thirty-five photographs which seem fairly useless: interior tondos without ornamental or figured decoration which could never give useful indications for the classification of the cups; undersides of feet, generally sufficiently visible in the three-quarter views, palmettes (nos. 11c, 14a, 15c) and a decorative band (no. 5d) already adequately shown by the general views, and the black interiors of two fragments (no. 28c and d).

The fascicule is rather on the short side (forty-two plates instead of the traditional forty-eight, reproducing fifty-eight cups of which five were already published in the Gallatin fascicules) and could therefore have included additional vases of other series. On the other hand, it would perhaps have been of interest to enlarge certain subjects, especially of the little-master cups (the Chimaera, no. 11b and the two sides of no. 13, in particular, are indistinct).

From the practical point of view, that of consulting the fascicule, let us note certain innovations which are not always happy. The references to the plates are rather complicated, for the cups are given consecutive numbers which are repeated on the plates. Thus, the references include an additional element (e.g. pl. 8, 8b which would normally be pl. 8, 2). It is a pity, also, that the inscriptions are not transcribed in the text in their original form: the inscription of the Melosa cup (no. 39) which is

said in the text (p. 16) to be in a Western Greek alphabet is not reproduced and is invisible in the photograph; the reference to M. J. Milne *AJA* 49 (1945) 528-533 has been omitted in the bibliography. A last detail: it does not seem to me superfluous for those who want to study the proportions of cups to know not only the height and the diameter but also the greatest width with handles (when the latter are ancient).

There are very few special remarks to make. No. 8: on the Centaur Painter see now *Studies Presented to David M. Robinson II*, pp. 65-69. The cup is figured there on pl. 23, no. 13. No. 20 is compared, for the subject, with Villa Giulia Castellani 71. The same subject, by the same painter as the Villa Giulia cup, recurs on Louvre C 10281 (unpublished: by the same painter as Louvre F 93 and C 10282, A, horseman and draped man [unpublished]). No. 28: the attribution of the two fragments to the Painter of Elbows Out seems insufficiently founded; it would have been better to say "manner of." No. 34: on page 12 the Droop cups are dated 550-530 B.C., a little too early. No. 39 in particular is certainly later than 530 B.C. The black and reserved rays (with relief lines) around the foot are found on eye-cups of about 520 B.C. No. 38: as other examples of cups with a sphinx between eyes, one could add Louvre C 10366, 10367, and F 142 (*CVA* III He pl. 103, 1-5, and 7).

All this, however, should not make us overlook the great qualities of the publication as a whole and its attractive appearance.

FRANÇOIS VILLARD

MUSÉE DU LOUVRE

Studies in Land and Credit in Ancient Athens, 500-200 B.C. The Horoi-Inscriptions, by Moses I. Finley. Pp. xii + 332. Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, N. J., 1952. \$3.50.

Despite the subtitle, this work is in no wise a duplicate of Fine's study, *Horoi. Studies in Mortgage, Real Security and Land Tenure in Ancient Athens* (*Hesperia*, Supplement vol. 9, 1951), reviewed in this journal, 57 (1953) 134-136. Finley does, indeed, reprint (in a form shorn of dubious restorations) the whole body of relevant *horoi* including those in *IG* which Fine did not include among his texts, and adds the new *horoi* from the Athenian Agora given in Fine's work. In general, however, the treatment is wider than Fine's, though details receive due consideration. Finley rightly endeavours to extract as much as possible from the *horoi*, preferring them, as contemporary documents,

to the speeches of the orators, which have by now undergone every possible permutation and combination of interpretation. It also emerges clearly from the book that Finley possesses a sound legal training which in this type of study is fully as important as knowledge of the Greek world. His approach to the subject is well and soundly based. A vast reading is demonstrated by the very extensive notes (pp. 195-300) which with the reprinted texts occupy about two-thirds of the book. These notes, apart from their illustration of the text, will form a very useful introduction to many aspects of Athenian legal and economic life.

In his Preface, Finley justifies the broad approach to a specialized though vital problem. "While working on problems of money and credit, planned as the opening section of a book on business practice in the Greek cities, I soon felt the lack of a systematic modern account of the guaranty aspects of credit, apart from purely juristic studies (chiefly German) of the law of security. Since security is the external link between land, the basic form of wealth in the Greek economy, and credit, a full examination of this bond appeared essential as a prelude to the larger work on business practice. The social and economic aspects of land-credit relationship, in particular, seemed to require consideration alongside the juristic." Finley rightly avoids two common errors: (i) a quest for evidence extended outside Athens and Athenian-influenced islands, for as he points out, it is by no means established that the Greeks had one common legal system; and (ii) an assumption, as he puts it, "that one may draw upon any document written in Greek, regardless of time or place, in a study of 'Greek' institutions." So he avoids Ptolemaic and Seleucid material, though his range of dates carries him into the Hellenistic Age in Athens, for which period he assumes a continuity of practice until "Rome and the Romans moved into the Greek world." One wonders whether this is true (i.e. the continuity of practice) and whether in fact "the basic ways of economic life did not change in essentials" down to the appearance of the Romans, under the stresses of the earlier Hellenistic Age. It would not, however, be easy to prove the contrary, and in any case a good deal of the epigraphical evidence is strictly Hellenistic of the very late fourth and early third centuries B.C. The available sources (both literary and non-literary) also determine the starting point of Finley's study, which is more or less the end of the fifth century.

The basic subject of the book is security in real property, the form which it could take in Athens, and the precise relations of the parties concerned. Chapter II and other references throughout the book

show how difficult are conclusions from the scanty information given by the *horoi*: the explanation of the inadequacy of these being that "verbal agreements and 'the neighbours who know everything' needed no better form of public notice than the often crude markers driven into the ground or scratched on a house wall."

The forms of legal security, *ὑποθήκη*, *πράσις ἐπὶ λύσει* and *ἀπορίμμη* (dotal and pupillary) are well discussed in Chapters III and IV. Finley makes a good point both in the interpretation of *πράσις ἐπὶ λύσει* as "sale on condition of release" (31), not "sale with option to rebuy," and in his definition of *ἀπορίμμη* as the measuring off of an amount of property "acceptable as a substitute for the debt" (52): an idea which proceeds from the essential principle of Athenian hypothecation, the seizure of the property as a *substitute* for the debt (110, 114), as distinct from the right of the modern mortgagee to the *money*. The latter principle (collateral as opposed to substitution) depends "on a relatively fluid credit economy . . . in which everything is readily translated into money: in which, in other words, all goods and commodities may have an immediate market value, and are so conceived by the society" (115). Hence, the difficulties (arising from the principle of substitution) attending the participation of non-citizens in such transactions, well discussed by Finley (74-79). The other problem arising from the substitution aspect of hypothecation, whether in fact the same property could act as security for two or more debts incurred separately, and involving priority in the creditor's claim, is approached (110 ff.) in connection with a *horos* (no. 41) which seems at first sight to admit the practice, but is explained by Finley as a case of *one* debt shared by five creditors. The interesting instance from the *poletai*-list of 367/6 B.C. (*Hesperia* 10 [1941], 14, no. 1) is of special importance in this connection, and is accorded a full discussion (111-113). It is regarded as a departure from the usual practice, with priority given to one debt from which the rest are marked off by the phrase *δοῦναι πλεονος ἀξία* (*ibid.* line 14).

The other problems arising from the status and legal capacity of individuals, and the appearance in security transactions of groups (various permanent *κοινωνία* and *ἑταροί*), and multiple creditors, are fully discussed in Chapters VI and VIII. Herein the book has a great interest for the ancient historian who is not a jurist, not only for its clear exposition of an important, though involved aspect of Athenian life, but also in the demonstration of the economic problems, some of very considerable importance, which are involved: e.g. the nature of "visible" wealth, the relative importance of land, houses,

ergasteria and slaves as property (Chapter V), and the economic status of those who were the participants in this whole system of hypothecation: not the poor (even in the case of *ἑταροί*), for the poor seem to have made do with the *ἐνέχυρον*, but the well-to-do; and again, the purpose of the hypothecation, the raising of credit not for an expansion of economic activity, but for nonproductive purposes, as well typified by Timotheos the general (84, 87).

The reprint of the texts of the *horoi* is very convenient, and a high standard of accuracy has been attained (on p. 120, no. 4, line 1 *read olklas*). The notes are very full and valuable. There is a useful bibliography.

It is very much to be hoped that the author will in the near future give us the other works he promises.

R. J. HOPPER

SHEFFIELD, ENGLAND

The Athenian Agora. Results of Excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Vol. I, Portrait Sculpture, by Evelyn B. Harrison. Pp. xiv + 114, pls. 49. The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Princeton, 1953. \$6.00.

If the successive volumes of the excavation results are as well presented and thorough in all respects as Miss Harrison's publication of the Graeco-Roman marble portrait heads and statues, we may be sure that full scholarly record of the Agora will provide a worthy counterpart to the field work and the results thereof which have been presented in so many forms in the past generation. Miss Harrison's catalogue comprises sixty-four thoroughly considered examples. She is careful to state that these portraits are those linked with the Agora in the archaeological rather than the historical sense. She considers what portraits probably were set up in the ancient market place, and what material enters her catalogue through wandering into the Agora in late and post-antique times.

Portrait studies have come a long way since the Renaissance, since the purely iconographic tradition monumentalized by J. J. Bernoulli at the turn of the century. We are in the era of precise portrait study — exhaustive scrutiny of famous personalities (Homer, Augustus, Claudius, and Trajan), study of portraiture of an era (the later Republic, the Julio-Claudian, or the Constantinian periods), and recently (G. M. A. Hanfmann, in *Latomus*, vol. XI) study of the qualitative and psychological aspects of Roman portraiture. An important modern ap-

proach to ancient portraiture is *evaluation* of the remains excavated in a specific area as a result of well-mapped archaeological campaigns. Not only in its catalogue, map, tables, and photographs does Miss Harrison's work add a thorough new chapter to this aspect of portraiture, but she anticipates the future uses of her own material in three lively chapters on "The Romanization of Greek Portraits," "The Athenian Portraits in the Style of the Roman Empire," and "Athenian Portraits of the Third Century A.D. and After." In these chapters she is wise to look at her material through parallel Athenian portrait sculpture of the late Republic and imperial periods (e.g. pp. 93ff. — the *kosmetai* portraits published by Graindor) and to orient our thinking in terms of workshops in the imperial period in Greece rather than throughout the Empire. These pages give form to the thought evoked by the succession of plates, that while (Athenian) Greek imperial portraiture follows the surface mode of the Italian workshops, this portraiture manifests a strongly plastic series of styles of its own — styles which constantly recall Skopas in the Fourth Century and Hellenistic portraiture exclusive of representations of the Diadochoi.

It is perhaps fitting that the first portrait of Miss Harrison's catalogue should be in all probability a second century A.D. copy of a portrait of Herodotos, the "Father of History," executed in the period of Athenian political and artistic greatness. The chief thing which the Athenians, whose portraits form the bulk of this material, possessed was the history and heritage of the Athenian past. Miss Harrison leaves us with as rounded a picture as the material allows of the priests, philosophers, professors, mystics, and "students" of Athens, the prosperous university town — of the *fin-de-race* of a great heritage and of the unexceptional people whose sensitive pride in ancestry made them not unlike the *noblesse* encountered by eighteenth century British travellers to Italy. The material from the last quarter of the third century A.D. on (pp. 105f.) dramatizes the catastrophic effect of the barbarian sack of Athens in 267, not only on Agora portraiture, but Athenian art as a whole. From Miss Harrison's evidence (p. 8) we can at least feel that while these Athenians were not the heroized generalities of Attic high-classical grave reliefs, they were Greeks whose sensitivity to the tides of Roman *imperium* was greater than most and whose thoughts are mirrored in their commemorative sculpture. The fact that Herodotos is the only great pre-imperial Greek, and that Roman emperors in marble are few in these Agora finds, seems attributable to accidents of survival (p. 7)

and to the total destruction of bronze portrait statues (p. 4).

The reviewer ventures a few comments in detail. Miss Harrison's remarks on no. 25 (pp. 35ff., 84, 88), the Herm Portrait of Moiragenes, an example of the so-called Roman republican fact-bound style in the Hadrianic period, are now complemented by Haynes and Tod in treating the portrait-herm of Rhommas in the British Museum (*JHS* 73 [1953] 138 ff.). No. 32, pp. 43f., is curious as a relief, and we wonder whether this portrait head of an Antonine woman may be from a funerary monument or a historical relief. If the Hadrianic cuirassed-torso type of no. 56 (pp. 71ff.), with Victories flanking an archaistic Palladion above the Wolf and Twins, symbolizes "the philhellenic policy of the Roman ruler," then the type published by Mrs. Strong (*Scritti in Onore di B. Nogara*, p. 487, pl. LXIX, 1), with Roma in Virtus pose substituted for the armed Athena, symbolizes Hadrian's *alter ego Romanità*. On pp. 89f. Miss Harrison concludes a comparison between average Athenian portraiture and portraits from Rome itself in the imperial period with the truism that mediocre Athenian products are "never quite so dull as those that now fill the Roman museums." Tours of the Lateran shelves, the Museo Chiaramonti, and British collections in their image, such as Castle Howard or Wilton House, show that Neo-Classic cleaning and recutting is responsible for much of the dullness of Roman portrait sculpture. That Athens lay under the hand of the Turk until the era of scientific archaeology is a blessing so far as the unrestored freshness of the Agora material goes. We may shudder to think what a Cavaceppi would have done to the "Athenian chisel" in Miss Harrison's portraits. Roman average portraiture stands up better when comparisons are with the unrestored contents of the Antiquario Comunale, the Terme storerooms, and the Museo Nuovo. The busts we now value the most in the Soane Museum are those (probably brought from Athens by "Athenian" Stuart) relegated to the "Catacombs" in the early nineteenth century (e.g. Poulsen, *Portraits in English Country Houses*, nos. 81, 82, 84). Crescent pupils (p. 96, note 37) were a favourite toolmark of the Neo-Classic restorer, and we must guard, as does Miss Harrison, against using portraits of long pedigree in problems of precise dating without checking this detail. The bronze Trebonianus Gallus (?) in Florence (p. 97, note 41) is labelled as "terracotta" in Goldscheider; this would, we presume, trip only the unwary. To the discussion of Gallienus portraits and the Antonine dating of the celebrated long-haired portrait in the Athens Na-

tional Museum (pp. 97, notes 43, 44; 88, note 1) may be added E. B. Dusenbery's worthy contribution in *Marsyas* 4 [1948]. C. T. Seltman gave the "Christ" or "Gallienus" a correct orientation over fifteen years ago, when he placed him among Antonine sculptures in *CAH*, Plates, V, 114 (a).

For the debated no. 17, pp. 27f., a Flavian dating seems possible when compared with the Domitian of Cancellaria relief Frieze A (Magi, *I rilievi flavi del Pal. della Cancellaria*, as Frieze B, pl. XXIII), the Domitian of the Villa Borghese park (Magi, Tav. agg. A, 3; B, 3), in addition to the examples cited by Miss Harrison. It would even be tempting to consider this imperial portrait another young Domitian — a generalized view of the Caesar after his *depositio barbae* and his adaptation of the Neronian coiffure but before he grew his slight, intellectual beard. Domitian, the generalized intellectual, would be suitable company for our collection of university professors and latter-day mystics. The third of the three possible imperial portraits, no. 28 (pp. 38f., 89, note 11, 90, note 12), deserves a word. When we remember that Aelius Verus was the father of Lucius Verus and died prematurely so far as succession to Hadrian goes, and when we relate Agora no. 28 to the Terme Lucius Verus, it is possible that Agora no. 28 presents a portrait of Aelius Verus executed and set up in Athens (say 162/3) during the rule (and visit) of his son Lucius. Comparison with coins (e.g. *BMC, Empire*, III, pl. 67, no. 8) leaves little doubt in this reviewer's mind that no. 28 is Aelius, heir apparent to Hadrian and father to the Antonine whose reputation as such was made on his trip to the East via Athens. The kinship seems further strengthened by comparison with the large marble head of Lucius Verus from a Roman relief in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (G. M. A. Richter, *Roman Portraits*, no. 81). The reviewer follows the authority of Harrison, pp. 39f. note 5, in finding it impossible to accept the "Hadrian" from the Olympieion (pl. 45) as even a posthumous portrait of that Emperor. The man is an Antonine of the period of Marcus Aurelius with features more like the Conservatori Commodus as Hercules than Hadrian. Another such example of a portrait influenced by the physiognomy of the imperial type (see Harrison, p. 89) is Soane Museum, Poulsen, *op. cit.*, no. 83, probably also from Athens and more like Antoninus Pius than Poulsen's photograph indicates.

Concerning the most important Athenian private citizen of the imperial period represented in the Agora portraits the reviewer has much to add. To Neugebauer's list of eight replicas of the portrait, identified with reasonable certainty as Vibullius

Polydeukes (Polydeukion — no. 26, pp. 37f.; Neugebauer, in Arndt-Bruckmann, nos. 1198f.), may be added a head restored on a bare bust in the *Italian Neo-Classic manner* in the London art market, and a seventeenth century Italian (?) bust of Polydeukes photographed at Shobden by Mr. B. Ashmole. (Photographs of both are in the possession of the reviewer.) Dr. E. Paribeni kindly states that another is in the Palazzo Barberini. While lack of proof is a bar to conclusions, these examples would seem to indicate (along with Neugebauer nos. 6, 7) that the Attic-type Polydeukes bust was circulated beyond Athens in ancient times. Concerning Herodes Atticus' Polydeukes in statuary — a pan-imperial export type comparable to Hadrian's Antinous and likewise found throughout the Empire, much will be added in a republication of the Soane Museum bust (Poulsen, *op. cit.*, no. 81; Neugebauer, no. 5). Suffice it to say here that Polydeukes in statuary appears to survive in an Apollo-type in the Museo Torlonia (Visconti, *Album*, Tav. XVIII, no. 71), a similar statue said to come from Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli via the Lansdowne Collection in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery, Kansas City (Michaelis, no. 34; *Nelson Collection Handbook*, p. 22, fig. 14, in island marble), a colossal "young magistrate" found at Lepcis Magna (D. E. L. Haynes, *Ancient Tripolitania*, 1949, pl. 10), and a head from Ephesus in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen (F. Poulsen, *Cat.*, 1951, no. 696).

CORNELIUS VERMEULE

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Cults and Creeds in Greco-Roman Egypt.
Monographs in Archaeology and Oriental Studies, by H. Idris Bell. Pp. 117. The University Press, Liverpool, 1953. 15 shillings.

Modern scholarship is full of the dogma that religions are the product of cultural evolution, yet, in Egypt, the monuments indicate that religion was the one thing that changed hardly at all. Attempts are made to explain the so-called "survival" of animal worship in a way that will avoid the admission that, in this area perhaps, cultural evolution may at times be a negligible historical factor.

These common positivistic assumptions are evident in the first lecture in this book. Bell repeats Breasted's curious notions about the evolution of conscience and the moral sense and makes the common unwarranted assumption that, somehow, anything that was thought or said anywhere must some-

how have been borrowed or derived from something thought or said in Egypt. We reach the limit of this method on page 14 with the suggestion that Christ's parable of the rich man and Lazarus may have been derived from a story in a demotic papyrus! Moreover, we meet on page 24 some dubious parallels between ancient and modern dictators and the weariness engendered by their rule.

Clearly, the author does not intend to promote, but rather attacks, the dogmas of materialism and historical positivism. Also, it is clear that, though not personally familiar with it, he tries to state with fairness the beliefs of the Catholic Church to a Protestant audience. But he plainly implies, page 90, that the Church holds the belief of "continuing revelation," which it has never held although Protestant polemics frequently have so charged.

These criticisms do not detract seriously from the merit of an outstanding work. Where can one find the wise and judicious treatment given to the paganism which "never existed outside the imagination of the modern romantic" on page 102 and pages following? In fact, all the pages concerned with the task of the early Church and the way in which it met its challenges are superbly done. Although he has a Protestant distaste for asceticism (p. 95) the author nevertheless gives us one of the finest discussions of Gnosticism available anywhere (pp. 91-95).

H. Idris Bell, one of our outstanding authorities on religion in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods in Egypt, has published here four public lectures delivered under the Forwood Foundation at the University of Liverpool in 1952. These lectures, the Pagan Amalgam, The Jews in Egypt, The Preparation for Christianity, and the Christian Triumph, embody the best and most current discussion of these subjects that we possess. There is a bibliography, in addition to a list of abbreviations, and an index.

The discussion of paganism in Egypt is thorough and sound. The author relies upon the best work that has been done on this subject. In dealing with the Jews and the Christians, Bell has no equal among scholars who write English. Material from the Magical Papyri and the Hermetic Corpus, much of it difficult, is handled with skill and wisdom.

This solid, careful, and well-reasoned work, is doubly welcome in this field where works of such quality are not plentiful.

THOMAS A. BRADY

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Gli Scavi di Albintimilium e la Cronologia della Ceramica Romana; prima parte, Campagne di Scavo 1938-1940 [Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri, Collezione di Monografie Preistoriche ed Archeologiche II], by *Nino Lamboglia*. Pp. 200, figs. 119, pls. vii, folding tables and plans. Bordighera, 1950. Lire 3200.

Let us admit at the outset that this book is typographically mediocre; that the line drawings, though profuse and adequate, are of less than professional execution; that the text is occasionally overly detailed; that a misprint or two has crept in; and that one need not agree with all of the author's conclusions.

But with all this conceded, Lamboglia's work is a landmark which on three counts outranks any other product of Italian archaeological scholarship—and I do not except those recently published so magnificently by the Libreria dello Stato. For the first time since Boni, an Italian has conducted a stratified Roman-period excavation; for the first time an Italian archaeologist has really got down to something like business with Roman-period ceramics; and for the first time an Italian museum has exhibited the evidence so that visiting scholars can see what belongs with what (pls. vi, vii). These techniques may appear elementary, but in a land where, an eyewitness reports, tons of Roman ceramic evidence were being bulldozed (!) off a famous site in 1952, their employment requires initiative, imagination and independence of the professorial *cursus honorum*. Lamboglia has the archaeological courage to cultivate fundamentals; and if, for lack of any considerable appreciation in his own country, he prophesies abroad through the channels of the Istituto Internazionale and a prodigious record of publication, yet he is not without some honor at home as well; the Palatine excavations are now organized and exhibited on a stratified basis, and perhaps others will follow suit.

Excavating by levels, as is well shown in the photographs, Lamboglia has distinguished six main strata and their subdivisions. Stratum VI, the earliest, has been dated by the 1951-52 excavations, to ca. 180-100 B.C. for VI B, and 100-20 B.C. for VI A, instead of to the much briefer interval, 90-20 B.C. for the whole of Stratum VI, formerly announced. (Lamboglia, "Nuovi scavi nell'area urbana di Albintimilium," *Riv. Ingauna e Intemelina* VI [Jul.-Dec. 1951] 67-69. The same article also announces the discovery of Strata VII and VIII [pre-Roman].) The other periods are: V, ca. 10 B.C.-A.D. 20; IV, A.D. 15-ca. 90; III, A.D. 90-250; II, A.D. 250-ca. 400; I, after 400. In the earlier strata he found Campanian ware

in such quantities as to justify the subsequent publication of a separate study ("Per una classificazione preliminare della ceramica campana," *Atti del primo Congresso Internaz. di Studi Liguri* 139-206); this passes into Arretine, followed by South Gaulish (little, if any, from Central Gaul) and Late Italian, with which categories his *vasi a pareti sottili* are partially contemporary. Still within the first century fall the earliest instances of *terra sigillata chiara*, a ware later imitated by *terra sigillata lucente*. Assorted other and later categories of pottery, a few lamps, and miscellaneous metal, bone and ceramic objects are also recorded. One is impressed by the need for some standardized classification and terminology: "Late Italian (*tardo-italico*)" has nothing to do with what American archaeologists call "Late Roman," while the Americans' "Late Roman B" is Lamboglia's *terra sigillata chiara tipo A*! In general, Lamboglia in the West and the American and German excavators at Athens, Antioch and elsewhere in the East seem mutually unacquainted with each other's labors, to the disadvantage of both. As for Lamboglia's *vases a pareti sottili*, which are very common at Ventimiglia and occur widely elsewhere in western Europe, they also need re-examination and refinement of classification in the larger contexts, in the same way as the Campanian ware has been separately re-examined.

The important conclusions are, of course, chronological. Although Ventimiglia adds only a little to the established chronology of Arretine and Gaulish wares, it adds much to our knowledge of Late Italian, of *vasi a pareti sottili* and of *terra sigillata chiara* and *lucente*, all of which are widespread but only slightly understood. We must now accept the earliest *terra sigillata chiara*, suggestive in shape of Dragendorff's Form 29, of which there are several from Level IV (A.D. 15-ca. 90) and to which a fine parallel from the Vatican is published by Waagé in *Antioch IV* 1, fig. 27, as potentially first century, *pace* Waagé *ibid.* 43ff. But I am skeptical as to whether the decorated Late Italian can be assigned as early in the first century as Lamboglia places it. I had it orally from one of the staff at Pompeii that no such bowls have been found there (although signatures of Sex. Mu[rrius] Fes[tus] and L. Rasinus Pisanus on plain ware abound); this would imply a *fin du siècle* date for decorated Late Italian, and Lamboglia may have slipped in trusting Ventimiglia without first checking at Pompeii. Indeed, for all the importance which Ventimiglia now assumes, thanks to Lamboglia's pioneering with new techniques, we must remember that its evidence as a center of culture may not always be strictly appli-

cable elsewhere in the Empire or even throughout Italy.

But the foregoing misgiving is minor. Lamboglia's *Albintimilium* and his other studies derived from the excavations at Ventimiglia are among the Roman excavator's indispensable bibliographical tools.

HOWARD COMFORT

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Observations on Roman Portraiture, by G. M. A. Hanfmann (Collection Latomus XI). Pp. 56, pls. 3. Latomus, Revue d'Etudes Latines, Brussels, 1953. 60 B.Frs.

Mr. Hanfmann has divided his *Observations on Roman Portraiture* into two parts. In the first he describes three recently acquired marble heads in the Fogg Museum of Art, in the second he presents "some thoughts about general problems of Roman portraiture." Of the heads, one represents Lucius Verus, another a bearded, youngish man of the late Severan period, the third, the best of them but sadly battered, is assigned to A.D. 250-270 and so belongs to the interesting epoch just before the tetrarchy, when a new style presaging early Byzantine art was in formation.

It is on the second part of the essay that this short review must concentrate. Mr. Hanfmann poses a number of searching questions, which are meant as a stimulus for future research. He feels that in our studies of Roman portraiture attention has been focused too much on the identification of the persons represented and on chronology, and that it is now time to interest ourselves in other aspects, namely: 1) the artistic merit of the portraits, 2) the styles of the artists who produced them, and 3) the concept of personality in antiquity. His suggestions are timely, and I want to offer a few comments on them.

It is typical of our age that "a set of criteria" is recommended for "help in a systematic study of quality in the field of Roman portraiture." But can artistic perception really be attained through a set of rules? The translation of visual experience into words is, of course, an age-old problem and our art historical books abound in such attempts. The danger seems to be that the student loses himself in verbiage without attaining personal sensibility. Is not after all the best way a training of the eye by looking at fine things?

The study of individual styles in Roman portraits is obviously more difficult than in Athenian vase-

paintings, where it has been pursued with such conspicuous success. A fifth-century vase-painter's way of drawing an ear, eye, or hand can make his style easily recognizable, whereas in a realistic, sculptured portrait the rendering of forms is partly dictated by the sitter's features which need not recur in another sitter. Hanfmann's suggestion of studying portraits from the same provenience—the Palatine and the Golden House, for instance—presumably made by "court" sculptors, would seem a good starting point.

In this connection the author briefly deals (on p. 28, note 1) with the much discussed question of the nationality of the artists who produced the Roman portraits. He thinks the case may have been similar to that of the Arretine potters. The artists came originally from the East but presently were completely Latinized. The two cases, however, are hardly parallel. Italy had a long tradition in the making of pottery (and the technique of Arretine ware—a combination of throwing and moulding—actually harks back to that of the old Etruscan *bucchero*). The carving of marble, on the other hand, was not practiced in Latin countries to any extent before the first century B.C., at least according to our present evidence. The author rightly stresses the fact that "it has now been recognized that the custom of keeping ancestral images has only limited bearing on the rise of personalized portraiture, and also that there is no bridge from the primitive Canopic heads to the sophisticated Roman culture. Reference is also made to Bernard V. Bothmer's recent studies of dated late Egyptian portraits which may yield criteria for the dating of Hellenistic and Republican heads.

Chapters V and VI deal with the interpretation of personality and are perhaps the most provocative in this stimulating essay. The author tries to analyze the divergencies between the ancient and the modern concept of personality, the latter having been influenced by psychological research. Whereas the ancients assumed "a direct and detailed correspondence between body traits and character," nowadays "face and body are conceived as accidental and secondary." (In other words, the subconscious self had happily not yet been discovered in antiquity!) The comparisons made between portraits in art and in literary biographies, both ancient and modern, are particularly interesting. The concluding chapter gives a survey of personality as expressed in the various periods of Roman portraits. Much valuable information is also contained in the copious footnotes—helpfully placed at the bottom of the pages.

GISELA M. A. RICHTER

ROME

Roman Britain and the Roman Army. Collected Papers by Eric Birley. Pp. xi + 196. Titus Wilson & Son Ltd., Kendal, 1953. 15 shillings.

This is a collection of articles published by the author between 1935 and 1952, of great interest to the general reader of Roman Britain as well as to the specialist. Most of them were printed in local periodicals not easily accessible even in the larger libraries, and for that reason we are in debt to the author and publisher for bringing them together here under one cover. There should be more of this type of publication.

Here are fruits of various kinds suited to the tastes of all students of the Roman Empire, sixteen separate articles ranging from very intricate epigraphic problems to the development of Roman towns in Britain. On every page is visible evidence of Prof. Birley's high scholarship and cautious judgment.

I. "Britain under Nero: the significance of Q. Veranius." The career of Veranius, governor under Nero, is discussed in detail and placed in its proper background of the "Claudian policy of a limited objective" in Britain and Nero's decision in 57 to hold and strengthen the island.

II. "Britain under the Flavians: Agricola and his predecessors." The statement of Tacitus that Agricola deserved a high military appointment on the Danube or in Syria as recognition of his British success is really unwarranted, for Agricola was a "British specialist" and not qualified for service elsewhere.

III. "Britain after Agricola, and the end of the ninth legion." The period in Roman Britain between A.D. 84/5 and the building of Hadrian's Wall is a virtual blank, but some light can be seen by tracing the changes made in the "Order of Battle of the Roman Army of Britain." (The new inscription published on page 23 is also available in *AEpigr* 1951, no. 88.) No firm conclusion can be reached concerning the end of the *legio IX Hispana*, but it certainly did not disappear early in Hadrian's reign; certain evidence (*CIL* V 7159) would even suggest a date towards the end of his reign.

IV. "The Brigantian problem, and the first Roman contact with Scotland." Roman penetration into Scotland may be traced far back before the days of Agricola, perhaps even to the years of the initial conquest under Plautius (43-47).

V. "Roman law and Roman Britain." A collection of references in the Digest and Codex to Britain, mainly imperial rescripts.

VI. "An altar from Bankshead, and the *imperium*

Galliarum." Here is found a very useful table of the consulships held under the rule of the Gallic emperors, from A.D. 259 to 273.

VII. "The status of Roman Chester." *Colonia* or *municipium*?

VIII. "Civil settlements on Hadrian's Wall." Great bands of traders and camp-followers tended to settle as closely as possible to the Roman camps, and, just as such settlements grew to great size in Germany, so also did the many stations in Britain along the Wall develop into *vici*. Peaceful conditions must have prevailed along the Wall.

IX. "Marcus Cocceius Firmus: an epigraphic study." This is a little gem of prosopographical methodology. From the inscriptions on the Auchen-davy altars, scattered references in the Digest, the salt-works in Britain, and an inscription from the Danube we can reconstruct the life and career of Cocceius in some detail. In the reviewer's opinion this is by far the finest article in the collection.

X. "The origins of legionary centurions." After a very careful marshalling of the available evidence we see that "Domaszewski's assumption of a predominately praetorian and Italian centurionate is not borne out by an analysis of the inscriptions." We discover that "legionary soldiers were eligible for promotion to the centurionate and above it, and the increase in the number of provincials in the legions was reflected in the increasing number of provincial centurions."

XI. "Some Roman military inscriptions." Comments on *CIL* VII 831. 887. 914. Prof. Birley has worked out the interesting fact that the adjectival form of a centurion's name (e.g. *centuria Sanctiana*) means that the centurion was a former commander, while the name in the genitive (*centuria Sancti*) means he was still the commander at the time of engraving. Here the author has anticipated what Prof. Robert O. Fink has also worked out independently from the Dura material. His article should appear in the next volume of the *TAPA*.

XII. "An equestrian officer's tombstone." Commentary on *CIL* VII 1054.

XIII. "The equestrian officers of the Roman army." Most of the equestrian officers received appointments in their thirties after showing some ability in municipal life; the appointments lasted three to four years as a rule; promotion depended on reports sent in to the *ab epistulis* in Rome; they were technically civilians, "except when holding specific establishment posts," but hardly the amateur soldiers they are often accused of being.

XIV. "The origins of equestrian officers: prosopographical method." Important types of procedure

to be used in determining an officer's birthplace. Observations on the Roman personal name, filiation, and tribe.

XV. "The prefects at Carrawburgh and their altars." Three altars dedicated to Mithras found at Carrawburgh (Procolitia).

XVI. "A centurial inscription from Carlisle." A stone block used in the construction of a Roman bridge "which once carried the Wall across the Eden from Stanwix to Carlisle."

No serious student of the Roman Army can afford to be without a copy of this little book. Excellent indexes make it extremely simple to locate any given subject or text treated by the author. It deserves our wholehearted praise and makes us hope for early publication of the other works on Roman Britain which Prof. Birley announces he has in preparation.

ROBERT K. SHERK

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Weltgeschichte des Mittelmeer-Raumes (von Philip II von Makedonien bis Muhammed), by Ernst Kornemann. Edited by Hermann Bengtson. Biederstein Verlag, München. Hervorgegangen aus dem Verlag C. H. Beck, 1948. Vol. I, pp. xvi + 508; Vol. II, pp. viii + 563, 7 Karten im text, 13 Karten auf Beiblättern und 12 Abbildungen.

These two important volumes are the result of fifty years of study of ancient problems by the great historian Kornemann, who died Dec. 4, 1946. The revision and finishing touches were added by Hermann Bengtson. Kornemann, a pupil of Mommsen, published many books and articles. Thus these volumes represent a culmination of long research and much publication. As far as being an authoritative account of ancient history, while it is better than Swain, *The Ancient World*, in two volumes, and American ancient histories, which show an astounding ignorance of archaeology, it does not surpass the *Geschichte des Altertums*, by Eduard Meyer, another pupil of Mommsen, nor the *Cambridge Ancient History*; but it does have special importance because it ignores the idea of Europe (quoting Spengler, "The word Europe should be stricken from history").

Kornemann's History shows the value of the Mediterranean for world history. He sketches what took place in the Near East and in the West at the same time and how events in East and West were interwoven. The influence of Persia on Europe's devel-

opment is well defined. Aeschylus spoke of Hellas and Persia as sisters. Kornemann would have done well to study the excavations of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago in Iran and such articles as that of Miss Richter in *AJA* 50 (1946) 15-30, "Greeks in Persia." But probably no historian in a general history has previously brought out so clearly the parallel development of Iranism and Hellenism. The first volume gives a lively, readable, scholarly, and interesting discussion of *Die Weltherrschaft der Makedonen und Die Weltherrschaft der Römer*, pointing out many lessons for the modern world. The section on Macedonia is marred by ignorance of recent researches in Macedonia, especially at Olynthus, though Kornemann does refer to the popular article in *Die Antike* 11 (1935) 274 ff. He rightly says that Philip lost an eye at Olynthus, whereas most histories put this at Methone. He rightly thinks that the Macedonians (p. 62) were the pacemakers for the Romans and that Philip, after the destruction of Olynthus, commanded the situation in the Balkans. Europe and Philip are closely related. Europe produced no man to compare with Philip, as Theopompus says.

Kornemann takes no account of the important treaty (356 B.C.) between the Chalcidians and Philip, which was found at Olynthus and published in *TAPA* 65 (1934) 103-122 (now in Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, 158). The coins of Olynthus throw much light on the early history of Macedon. Perdikkas as well as Archelaus should have been mentioned since his coins and those of the Chalcidic Federation (not a League) show that it was organized soon after 432 and not in 399.

I, as well as others, feel that the Macedonians were Greeks as early as 2000-1800 B.C. and it is not "certain that the Macedonians were different from the Hellenes" (p. 62). All the inscriptions found at Olynthus were in Greek and not a single inscription was in Macedonian. The philosopher Aristotle certainly was a Greek, also Callisthenes the historian, many sculptors such as Paconius, and painters such as Zeuxis.

Some sixty pages are devoted to a good treatment of Alexander, with much knowledge of the epigraphical and archaeological material but with no reference to the funeral procession from Babylon to Memphis (cf. Müller, *Der Leichenwagen Alexanders des Grossen*). Kornemann ignores the excellent work of C. A. Robinson, *The Ephemerides of Alexander's Expedition* (1932) and could not have known the same author's *Alexander the Great* (1947). W. W. Tarn's two volumes, *Alexander the Great* (1948), published after Kornemann's death, will long remain authoritative for Alexander, but a good,

comprehensive history of Macedonia before Alexander remains still to be written and Macedonia is a quarry for research. Paribeni, *La Macedonia sino ad Alessandro Magno* (1947), unknown to Kornemann, makes a beginning, but it, too, avoids the main problems and is superficial. Also, F. W. Walbank's excellent book, *Philip V of Macedon*, 1940, should have been used for the times after Alexander.

The second volume, with good chronological tables and an index to both volumes, deals with the Roman Empire and the later period to the death of Mohammed in A.D. 632, and the coming of the Arabs into Asia Minor, Egypt, and the western world (A.D. 636-878, when Syracuse was conquered). The last chapter brings us down to Friedrich II von Hohenstaufen, who assumed the title "King of Jerusalem" in 1223, his march into Jerusalem on March 7, 1229, and his death in 1250.

My main criticism of Volume II is the neglect of American publications. There is not a word about the Ara Pacis which has been recently reconstructed. There is no mention of the Homonadeis and of Pisidian Antioch and its importance for a study of Augustus, Tiberius, and Roman Art (*AJA* 28 [1924] 435-438; *ArtB* 9 [1926] 1-69). Not even the edict of Governor Lucius Antistius Rusticus (*TAPA* 55 [1924] 5-20) which mentions a control of prices in the time of the famine referred to in the *Book of Revelation*, VI, 6 (c. A.D. 93), is cited.

A real history cannot be written without more acquaintance with inscriptions, coins, sculpture, architecture, and archaeology. But Kornemann has given us a synthesis based on history and the *Geopolitik* of the Mediterranean and taught us not to set the western Greeks against the eastern Persians. The Persians are not a people with oriental despots, whose defeat by the Greeks saved the world for democracy from fanatic barbarism, but they helped create the culture of the Mediterranean. We have here for the first time a unified picture of the Mediterranean Ancient World, from Asia Minor to Spain, a work of scientific scholarship which should be in every historical library. Though printed on poor paper, the book is accurate. The maps are excellent.

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Agricultural Origins and Dispersals, by Carl O. Sauer. Bowman Memorial Lectures, Series Two, The American Geographical Society, New York, 1952. \$4.00.

This is a "... summary review of what man has

done with the plants and animals at his disposal. His mastery over the organic world began with his employment of experiments with fire. Sedentary fishing peoples perhaps commenced the cultivation of plants and became the first domesticators of plants and animals. The earliest plant selection was by vegetative reproduction and the early domestic animals were part of the household. Later came plant selection by seed reproduction and the keeping of flocks by seed farmers. I have thought to link these inventions in series, possibly beginning from a common center, and to follow their dispersals and divergences. If this be an exaggeration of the processes of diffusion of learning, the proposed thesis may be taken as an invitation to study the various lines of evidence as to the growth of the agricultural arts." (Sauer's own summary.) Unfortunately, some have taken his sweeping review of culture history as an invitation to combat, rather than as an invitation to inquiry.

Sauer has compressed an enormous amount of reading and thinking into 110 pages. It is meant to be stimulating, to present ways of reviewing mere facts, but facts crowd every page until reading becomes heavy going, made passable only by the brilliance of the creative mind. Sauer begins with man's entry into America. He favors Simpson's glacial theory which supplies a warm-glacial in third glacial (Illinoian) time. Of fire and grasslands, Sauer asks: "To what extent has man expanded the grasslands?" His answer is: "Greatly."

The origins of agriculture, as noted above, he derives from sedentary, freshwater fisherfolk. The earliest agriculture is based on vegetative reproduction. Southeast Asia is one such center. Northwest South America is another.

From the Southeast Asian center, Sauer would have domestic plants and animals spread to China, into the Pacific, to the Mediterranean, and to Africa via India, South Arabia and Abyssinia. On the margins of areas favorable to the root crops, he thinks of grain crops arising as weeds which eventually replaced the root crops. There were several such centers: Abyssinia, the Near East, and North China. The grain farmers, in time, domesticated herd animals and gave rise to pastoral societies.

For America he sees a similar picture. He divides the North American seed producers from the Caribbean-South American vegetative plant producers. This is corn, beans, cucurbits, amaranth, and so forth, versus sweet potato, peanut, manioc, potato, ad infinitum (for the plant lists are formidably long). As in Southeast Asia, so in America Sauer hypothesizes that vegetative reproduction came first, and seed planters developed later on the margins.

Sauer notes that the Southeast Asian and the Northwest South American plant centers are alike not only in vegetative manner of planting but also in the over-all configuration of custom and skills. He raises, therefore, the question of independent invention or diffusion. Sauer is unimpressed by the arguments for similar environments creating similar cultures. He looks instead toward the possibility of a spread of Mesolithic boat culture around the north Pacific with sufficient rapidity that the *tradition* of agriculture survived to re-emerge when favorable latitudes were reached. He thinks it not impossible that some plants were actually carried to America via this route at this early period. Later in time, trans-Pacific voyages were important. He reviews in some detail the evidence for the pre-Columbian presence of the chicken in America and then mentions a string of other items (plants, customs, artifacts) which lead him to conclude that trans-Pacific crossings in both directions enriched the agriculture of the New World, but did not initiate it.

Few men living are masters of so many fields as Sauer: Old World and New World plants, climates, and culture are all handled expertly. He has drawn on this background to construct a sweeping picture of culture growth and pointed out tremendous areas needing critical study. If his study had no other value, it would be well worth while. One need accept none of his interpretations, and still find the book full of information and stimulus.

For an almost diametrically opposed reconstruction of Old World agricultural origins see: "Habits of Man and the Origins of the Cultivated Plants of the Old World," I. H. Burkhill (*Proceedings of the Linnean Society of London*, Pt. 1, 1953, pp. 12-42). The style, at times even the manner of expression, of the two articles are similar. Their conclusions are diametrically opposed, for Burkhill clings to the almost traditional idea of hunters as animal domesticators, beginning with the dog. Sauer presents new data and a bold new hypothesis.

Cutler has reviewed Sauer's work in the *American Anthropologist* (55 [1953] 434-436). He points out differences of opinion but generally considers the work to be of value for its stimulus. Mangelsdorf has given a very full and acrid review in *American Antiquity* (19 [1953] 87-90). He considers the entire construct to be non-factual, non-testable, and generally contrary to fact. The fundamental issue is diffusion versus independent invention, with an added emotional content due to the trans-Pacific controversy. Despite Cutler's and Mangelsdorf's assertion to the contrary, the facts are on Sauer's side, and the certainty of trans-Pacific contacts is virtually established. Sauer's documentation of the pre-

Columbian presence of the chicken in America is not disposed of by his opponents. The list of proven diffusions is in process of expansion by a number of students. The contacts will become more complex rather than less. For example, the morning mail brings a note on Niger River pottery of A.D. 1000 that contains the imprint of a maize ear.

We do not advance knowledge by clinging to old hypotheses and promoting them to factual rank on a basis of seniority. Knowledge is advanced by constant search for new hypotheses against which to test the old. Each new hypothesis leads to new seeking of data. But factual data are meaningful only in terms of ideas. The whole truth seldom lies in one man's construct, but is liable to be slowly approached through a long process of testing one construct against another. That agriculture began with small grains in the Near East about 7000 years ago, that hunters domesticated animals, that America did not have many early contacts with the Old World; these are only hypotheses and no more factual despite their antiquity than any newly erected hypotheses. Students of the origins of culture growth would do well to consider Sauer's insight into the role of diffusion. They should especially examine his division of the Americas into two agricultural realms and ponder its significance. Is it real? Is it old? If Sauer's explanation does not suit, what is the answer? And if a Sauer did not examine the facts and erect such a hypothesis, where would we get the impetus to launch such inquiries?

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Investigaciones Arqueológicas en La Sabana de Bogotá, Colombia (Cultura Chibcha), by Emil W. Haury and Julio Cesar Cubillos. (University of Arizona Bulletin, Vol. XXIV, No. 2) Social Science Bulletin No. 22, Tucson, Arizona, 1953. Pp. 97, pls. 7, figs. 32. \$1.00.

This monograph is the result of the field work conducted by Haury and Cubillos in the southern part of the Chibcha area in the highlands around Bogotá, Colombia, during the period October, 1949-March, 1950. Although a large area was covered during the survey, the most intensive excavations and studies were made in the sites of Facatativá, Pueblo Viejo, Gachancipa, and Tocancipa with extensive stratigraphic excavations at the first three sites.

Although the report was intended for publication in Colombia, a reorganization of the Instituto Etno-

lógico Nacional in Bogotá prevented this and the University of Arizona agreed to publish it in Spanish. (A short English summary is included, and some of the conclusions are published in English in *American Antiquity*, 19 [1953] 76-78.) It is a step forward for technical reports in South American archaeology to be published in the language in which they will receive the most use. However, as a result, this work may not receive the attention it deserves from North American archaeologists. This would be unfortunate, since these investigations have produced some of the most startling conclusions to come out of South American archaeology in recent years.

The Chibcha have always been ranked among the high cultures of the New World because of the elaborate gold work from the area and because of the comments of the fifteenth and sixteenth century Chroniclers. At the same time all South Americanists have admitted that one of the most neglected regions in South America from the standpoint of field archaeology has been that of Colombia.

Haury and Cubillos worked on this problem of cultural chronology, and established a sequence based on a rather meager amount of sherds for the southwestern part of the Chibcha territory:

Recent — Present Day to A.D. 1820.

Colonial — A.D. 1820-1537.

Pre-Conquest — Before A.D. 1537.

Ceramically, these periods have decided differences. Although the authors follow standard pottery type descriptions with good sherd drawings, it is regretted that they did not adopt the binomial system of nomenclature. Instead they use the names "Type A," "Type B," "Type C," "Type D," etc., an awkward and cumbersome system at best. As their work becomes more used in the future, this terminology will probably evolve into something like "Haury and Cubillos Type A," etc. or some similar device to make the types more specific. No mention is made of where the collections were deposited or where type sherds have been distributed, a most significant bit of information to the future scholar of South American archaeology.

To the reviewer the most important and interesting comments in the report are the revolutionary conclusions which the two authors reached as a result of their survey and excavations. Extensive terrace agriculture was discovered to be an important trait of the Chibchas, a point heretofore unreported. They demonstrate that without any doubt these terrace systems are Pre-Spanish, and in their opinion the construction of such simple terraces would not require an elaborate social structure as was necessary to complete the massive public works of the Tiahuanaco or the Inca of the Andes. This is a vital

point of archaeological interpretation, although it might be revolting to some anthropologists. If the archaeologist cannot find evidence to support the fact that the Chibcha were as an elaborate society as once thought, then the ideas must be changed accordingly.

Even though the reader ignore the rest of the report, he should read the conclusions (pp. 87-95). Although the authors define some regional differences in the pottery, they were able to determine with little difficulty whether they were dealing fundamentally with either Spanish, Spanish-Chibcha mixture, or Chibcha materials. The lack of great agricultural potential of the area is mentioned as one of the important reasons why this region did not support as great a population as once estimated. This point is of extreme importance and suggests the need of some intense examination of other parts of Colombia. As a result of their finds, the population estimates and density of the Chibcha must be greatly reduced. Also, there is no archaeological evidence to suggest that the Chibcha occupied this area for a long time; on the contrary, the data suggest a very short time depth to the Chibcha in this part of Colombia.

Whether all this means that the place of development of the Chibcha must be sought somewhere else, or whether the Chibcha are not as important a culture of the Andean Area as once thought, will be proven or disproven with future research. In the meantime, Haury and Cubillos have presented an excellent, descriptive and interpretative monograph which takes the archaeological data beyond the mere artifact count and potsherd description, and will stand for some time as an important, if controversial, contribution to South American archaeology.

CLIFFORD EVANS

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Tonalá, Mexico: An Archaeological Survey, by Edwin N. Ferdon, Jr. Monographs of the School of American Research, No. 16, Santa Fe, New Mexico, 1953. Pp. 126, pls. 24, figs. 18, 5 maps and 2 appendices. \$6.00.

This publication might have been entitled *Tonalá, Mexico: An Architectural Study*. Although Ferdon did an excellent, thorough, detailed study of the architectural features and stone sculptures found at the site of Tonalá, his work cannot be considered as an archaeological survey in the usual sense of the term. No observations were made of neighboring sites nor were pottery and artifacts recovered from

the area — customary archaeological procedures when speaking of a survey. This is not, however, a criticism of Ferdon who did not have permission from the Mexican authorities to do any excavation but rather a criticism of the use of the word "survey" in the title. Otherwise, this handsomely prepared and edited volume will be a very useful reference work for specialists in the Middle American field.

The ruins of Tonalá are situated about 2000 feet above sea level in the foothills of the Sierra Madre de Chiapas overlooking the Pacific coastal plains. The site is so located that many migratory groups must have passed through it in Pre-Columbian times on their way from Mexico proper to Central America. As such it was undoubtedly influenced from many directions and its study is a landmark in our knowledge of this intermediate area.

As was previously pointed out, the monograph is primarily concerned with the architecture and monuments of Tonalá. Ferdon divided the site into five major groups which he labels from A to E. His architectural nomenclature is clear-cut and his detailed description of each structure leaves no question of its form in the mind of the reader. Ferdon uses, with slight modifications, the architectural terminology established by Satterthwaite (1943) but, in order to avoid confusion, lists in alphabetic order (Appendix A, pp. 115-118) the definitions of all architectural terms used throughout the monograph. This procedure is to be highly commended. Too often the reader of publications on Middle American archaeology is left in doubt by the undefined and indiscriminately used terms of "substructure," "platform," "superstructure," etc. Ferdon has also added some useful new definitions and concepts to Satterthwaite's list. Examples are: "batter-notched, inset-stairway, porch, precinct, primary platform, and two-building pyramid."

On the pages following his introduction to the architecture of Tonalá, Ferdon gives a careful and lengthy description of each structure within the five groups: Group A (9 structures), Group B (3 structures), Group C (14 structures), Group D (15 structures) and Group E (29 structures). Altogether, 70 largely similar structures are described individually and are accompanied by fine section and floor plans and excellent photographs. This detailed and somewhat repetitious description of each structure takes 61 pages, about half of the monograph, whereas the summary of architectural features is curtailed to twelve pages. The reviewer feels that the repetitious enumeration of measurements might have been avoided through the use of a table or an appendix. This procedure would also have lowered printing costs.

In his excellent summary of architectural features (pp. 69-80), Ferdon discusses the different types of structures under clearly defined subheadings such as substructure, platform, superstructure, single and multiple room building, etc. According to Ferdon the presence or absence of the stairway-extension (rampart) and the precinct can be considered time markers. The former feature would be indicative of Early Classic date and the latter is a Late Classic characteristic which seems to be indigenous to the central Mexican plateau. He believes that the appearance of the precinct outside of this area may be interpreted as architectural influence radiating from the Mexican homeland.

In the next section (pp. 81-94) Ferdon discusses the stone monuments located within or close to the ruins of Tonalá. This section is accompanied with 84 excellent photographs. He records ten stelae (eight of which were uncarved), four altar stones, and three petroglyphs. He postulates three sources of influence responsible for their different stylistic features: La Venta, Highland Mexico, and Izapa-Cotzumalhuapa. The reviewer is in full agreement with Ferdon in the great majority of his identifications of the stone sculptures despite a few specific differences of opinion.

On the basis of the architectural features and the style of stone monuments, Ferdon believes that Tonalá was occupied primarily during the Early and Late Classic periods and postulates its abandonment prior to the full development of Cotzumalhuapa in Guatemala. Although his arguments are quite convincing, it must be remembered that they are based solely on a careful comparative analysis of the architectural remains and stone carvings and are not substantiated by a study of the ceramic remains or of other artifacts. Until such a study has been made, Ferdon's conclusions will be open to question.

In the Alta Verapaz region of Guatemala the Carnegie Institution of Washington archaeological survey team discovered hilltop ruins with "cyclopic walls" similar in style to those of Tonalá (C.I.W. Yearbook 48, pp. 228-230, 1949). Surprisingly enough, the pottery associated with these sites (Chijolom, Chichén) turned out to be predominantly of Post-Classic date. The ruins of Chacula, Uaxacanal, and Pueblo Viejo in the northwestern part of the department of Huehuetenango in the Guatemalan highlands have many similarities to Tonalá, particularly in the layout of the ruins. The material from these sites, collected and published by Seler (1901) are also predominantly of Post-Classic date.

As long as Drucker's "moderate and as yet unanalysed collection of pottery from various parts of

Tonalá" (Drucker, 1948, pp. 167-168) is still unpublished it seems unwise to close the book on Tonalá. According to Drucker (p. 168) the pottery that he collected "seems to be unlike ceramics encountered elsewhere along the (Pacific) coast (of Chiapas). Study may show it to be an extrusion from the Chiapas highlands." On the other hand, the archaeological material from the site nearest Tonalá, El Paredón (about 25 miles southwest on the Pacific coast) is definitely Post-Classic and of Mixteca-Puebla type (Red-and-black-on-white ware, *incensario* effigy handles representing moldmade "up-turned nose" individuals, serpents' heads or alligators; Drucker, 1948, fig. 14). They tie in closely with the archaeological material from western Guatemala. Whether the people responsible for these products bypassed or occupied and built parts of Tonalá remains a question that can be answered after Drucker has published the pottery or after an excavation of the site.

Meanwhile, Ferdon has demonstrated in his valuable contribution to Middle American archaeology that a careful analysis of architectural features can yield much information concerning cultural affiliations and chronological periods. This is an excellent technique which should be applied whenever possible to sites that yield no pottery or in cases, such as Ferdon's, when the archaeologist lacks the necessary permission for excavation.

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La Venta, Tabasco, A Study of Olmec Ceramics and Art, by Philip Drucker, with a chapter on Structural Investigations in 1943, by Waldo R. Wedel, and appendix on Technological Analyses, by Anna O. Shepard. (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bull. 153.) U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1952. Pp. 257, pls. 66, figs. 64. \$1.25.

For about the last fifteen years one of the most exciting and controversial phases of Mesoamerican archaeology has been that of identifying and placing the Olmec culture of southern Vera Cruz and Tabasco. Special interest in this culture arises from the extraordinarily fine and unique quality of its sculptural art, the many small objects of jade and its monumental sculpture of human heads and altars in basalt. The controversy has concerned the chronological placement of the Olmec "complex" and its relationships with other centers. Some have believed that a fully developed Olmec art was in existence in the Pre-Classic Period and that it thus represents the earliest of the high cultures of Classic type, contrib-

uting to the origin of the Classic centers of the Maya, of Teotihuacan, and Monte Alban. Others have believed that the great period of Olmec art came contemporaneously with these others and thus was simply a local expression of the Classic Period development.

The work under review is a full report on the excavations at La Venta, one of a series of field projects in Olmec country conducted jointly by the Smithsonian Institution and the National Geographic Society. The fifth of the major reports on these expeditions, this bulletin on La Venta has been long awaited, as the site has produced some of the finest of Olmec sculptures, and at the time it was excavated it was reported to have a relatively short occupation period allowing a placement of the large sculptures in the ceramic sequence for the area.

Drucker divides his study into two parts, the first being a detailed account of the excavation of the site and an analysis of the ceramics. The La Venta ceramic complex is shown to be nearly identical to that of Middle Tres Zapotes and thus to correspond in time to Teotihuacan II-III and apparently to Tzakol Maya. Drucker is convinced, then, that the evidence of La Venta supports the second of the two alternatives mentioned above — that Olmec art in its fully developed stage is another localized Classic Period development.

The second part of Drucker's study consists of a broad analysis of Olmec art, its sculptural techniques and stylistic features, and of its relationships to the art of other Mesoamerican centers. This crystallizes out into the first real presentation of a consistent scheme for the development of Olmec culture and for its place and role in the Mesoamerican scene. Drucker thinks of Olmec culture as a tradition having its somewhat isolated locale in southern Vera Cruz and Tabasco and evolving, as did the traditions of other centers, from a Pre-Classic to a Classic period form, the latter being the culture defined for La Venta and for Middle Tres Zapotes. Olmec culture, then, is not a mother culture in the sense of having contributed in a major way to the other Mesoamerican centers, but has derived like them from some still earlier but unknown source.

This scheme will certainly not be accepted by all students of the Olmec, and it may have to be modified to a great extent. But at last we have a consistent and logically presented scheme which can be discussed and built upon. Drucker's monograph is a very important contribution to the field of Mesoamerican archaeology.

GORDON F. EKHOLM

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The Sobaipuri Indians of the Upper San Pedro River Valley, Southeastern Arizona, by Charles C. DiPeso. The Amerind Foundation, Inc., Dragoon, Arizona, 1953. Pp. 285, pls. 92, 34 maps and figs.

This full and magnificently illustrated report is part of the Amerind Foundation's study of the history of the San Pedro valley, which in turn is part of their larger project including the Santa Cruz drainage and a considerable portion of southeastern Arizona. Although unfamiliar to most archaeologists, that region, like so much of the Southwest, is teeming with ruins. The valleys are lined with sites amidst the numerous ranges of mountains: the Santa Catalinas, the Tanque Verdes, the Galiuros, the Dragoons, the Santa Ritas, the Whetstones, the Patagonias, the Huachucas, the Mules, and the ranges stretching endlessly down into Mexico. Even less generally realized is the fact that many of the sites in those valleys, unlike those in some parts of the Southwest, were occupied as late as historic times, thereby giving us that invaluable connection with easily measured time so eagerly sought by prehistorians and so seldom realized by Americanists.

The Amerind Foundation under the direction and inspiration of its founder and President, Mr. William S. Fulton, has been pursuing its researches for twenty years. Its last report, as admirable and well presented as this one, described the findings of Dr. DiPeso at the late prehistoric village of Babocomari (*The Babocomari Village Site on the Babocomari River, Southeastern Arizona*, by C. C. DiPeso, The Amerind Foundation, Inc., No. 5, Dragoon, Arizona, 1951) on the river of that name, a tributary of the San Pedro, west of Fairbank and Tombstone, Arizona. The success of that operation and particularly the richness and importance of the information gained there in terms of the still little known prehistory of southern Arizona convinced Mr. Fulton and Dr. DiPeso that their next step should be the investigation of a site which would bridge the gap between the uncertainly dated "late" remains and the historic times of Spanish contact. On the basis of previous estimated dates, the gap was a sizable one, from about 1400 to the period 1692-1700 when the Jesuit Father Kino (Kuehne) brought European goods and ways to the *Pimeria Alta*.

The work of archaeologists frequently involves the filling of gaps. These gaps may be real ones or false, depending upon the accuracy of the previous dating. The one we are concerned with proved to be a bit of both, but it was far more important than a mere gap in chronology or blank in the charts of pottery taxonomy. This particular gap represented the hi-

atus between the unidentified inhabitants of prehistoric villages and the various tribes described by the early Spanish records of the San Pedro and the Santa Cruz.

The ruin selected for excavation was Quiburi, a village on the west bank of the Santa Cruz three miles north of the present town of Fairbank. It contained native and Spanish houses, military and ecclesiastical establishments. After the excavation of Quiburi a reconnaissance based on the findings located many other sites which could be dated with reasonable assurance, and further excavations were conducted at two villages mentioned in the Spanish accounts, Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea and San Salvador de Baicatcan. The result is a valuable contribution not only to the archaeology of the Southwest but also to Spanish-American colonial history.

The meat in this report is baffling to the reviewer with his limitation of space. One can only list the major items and advise interested scholars to get the book. After a clear statement of the major problems there is an ethnological presentation from Spanish sources of the life and culture of the Sobaipuri, the particular tribe who inhabited Quiburi and that part of the San Pedro valley which stretches from Fairbank north to Redington. This is followed by a detailed account of the Spanish contacts, presented with that functional slant of the practising archaeologist which is still sufficiently novel to make exciting reading.

After a brief but clear description of the field techniques employed, the main body of the report treats of the architecture, arts and crafts, Spanish trade goods (with the cooperation of Arthur Woodward of the Los Angeles Museum), foodstuffs, burial customs including Indian cremations and church burials, and skeletal remains. In addition to many photographs, the architectural section contains conjectural reconstruction drawings of religious and military buildings including a gatehouse, a bastion, and guardhouses and also various types of native dwellings. In the section on Spanish trade goods there are drawings of the tools, hardware, utensils, horse trappings, weapons and religious paraphernalia restored and often shown in use. The art work throughout, by Mr. Barton R. Wright, including delightful end pieces for the sections and chapters, is far superior to that usually encountered in archaeological monographs. It greatly enhances the usefulness of and adds to the pleasure of working with the report.

The final sections discuss time correlations, fill the "gap" mentioned above, and present a general summary. The Sobaipuri are considered in terms of their possible relationships with the Pima proper, the Papago, and the prehistoric "Desert Hohokam." The possible influence on this area of the hypothetical "Salado invasion" from the north is also discussed, but that subject still remains an elusive thread to be conjured with only by specialists in Southwestern prehistory. A summary chart gives ceramic indices for the Sobaipuri sites and the prehistoric Pima proper as represented by Babocomari.

Aside from the data presented there is much in this report to encourage the critical reader. The conclusions are logical yet avoid scrupulously the common error of abandoning alternative hypotheses before the evidence justifies doing so. The summary begins with the statement "In common with most excavations, the work . . . raised more questions than it answered." Those questions are presented in the conclusion and the new excavation by the Amerind Foundation now in progress in the Santa Cruz valley will provide answers for some of them.

The taxonomy is in the form of the standard phase system of the area. Those who worry about our taxonomic shenanigans in the Southwest will note that DiPeso knows how to handle it. He does not "discover" his phases as "cultures" or any other form of absolute historic entity. "In the main, it was through the medium of architectural superposition and changes that the *archaeological phases were created* at the site of Quiburi. These in turn *were correlated* with the available historical descriptions and dates." (The italics are mine.) The high standard of scientific procedure indicated by the few comments in this paragraph is characteristic of the work, which is a credit to the author, to the Amerind Foundation, and to the University of Arizona of which DiPeso is the first Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology. The original manuscript of this report was his thesis.

In conclusion I wish to point out one aspect of the studies of the Amerind Foundation not stressed in the monograph. Not only are they supplying data on a previously almost unknown part of the Southwest, but they are giving us copious detailed data on the region closest within the United States to the high cultures of Mexico from which so much of the impetus in Southwestern prehistoric cultures is presumed to have come by undetermined routes and in a manner as yet completely unfathomed.

J. O. BREW

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Potsherds, by Harold S. Colton: Museum of Northern Arizona Bulletin 25, Flagstaff, Arizona, 1953. Pp. 86, 18 ill. \$3.00.

This work brings together revised data on pottery types of a portion of the southwestern United States which have been presented before, for the most part, in various Museum of Northern Arizona publications beginning with the *Handbook of Northern Arizona Pottery Wares*, by Dr. Colton and L. L. Hargrave (Museum of Northern Arizona Bulletin 11, 1937). It replaces the first few chapters of the *Handbook* and will serve as an introduction to a new series of revised pottery-type descriptions from a far wider range in the Southwest, which will be issued separately from time to time in the future.

The presentation of data is in simple language, so that layman or non-specialist can readily follow the discussions of primitive methods of pottery-making and the technical aspects of analyzing the product of the primitive potter. In addition, a short list of collateral reading is included at the end of each chapter. At the same time, this publication ably demonstrates to the trained specialist the value of this systematic approach to the study of potsherds by pointing to the need for minute and detailed study, as favored by the "splitters," before one can establish an empirical pottery type which does not include variations in important characteristics, such as the "lumpers" are prone to class together within a "cultural type."

After a brief historical introduction on the study of pottery, Dr. Colton proceeds to discuss first the manufacture of pottery in general, and then follows with a chapter concerned with the basic facts on materials (clay, temper, pigments) and tools (paddle, anvil, scrapers, fuel) used in the process of manufacturing a clay vessel, as well as the techniques employed (shaping, finishing, decorating, firing), referring also to the limitations involved.

At this point the discussions turn to the study of sherds recovered from archaeological sites, with emphasis on local special techniques of handling employed in the Southwest. Dr. Colton deals first with the essential characteristics which distinguish one pottery type from another — color, surface treatment, paint, decoration, core characteristics, and other miscellaneous physical attributes — and separately treats with vessel form and design. This section is illustrated with data derived from studies in the Flagstaff area of northern Arizona, which Dr. Colton and his staff have been studying intensively for over 25 years.

He then turns to the concepts of ceramic types (vessels alike in all important characteristics but form), wares (a group of types which consistently exhibit the same methods of manufacture), series (types of the same ware, in a restricted geographical area, that follow one another in time sequence), and collateral series (parallel series within a ware), and lists his rules for naming types and wares, including rules of priority. He also presents a format, slightly revised from that of the 1937 *Handbook*, for describing pottery types formally.

There follow discussions on ceramic analyses, which are concerned mainly with the aspects of statistical treatment, and on the dating of pottery types, both relative (by stratigraphy or seriation) and absolute (through dendrochronology).

On the basis of the foregoing chapters, Dr. Colton offers a final chapter on synthesis which demonstrates the validity and usefulness of the concepts of ceramic groups and index wares, which he has employed to such full advantage in the Flagstaff region.

In addition to the bibliography and index, there are four appendices: (1) Pottery Sequences of the Southwest, (2) Apparatus for the Study of Potsherds, (3) Identification of Minerals and Rocks, and (4) Hopi Pottery Firing Temperatures, all of which are of more interest to the specialist.

For the reader not familiar with Southwestern ceramics, it should be noted that the dimensions given for the paddle and anvil tools illustrated in Figures 3 and 4 should read "centimeters," not "millimeters"; that some of the traits listed after "paste color" and "slip" in Table 1 are not in agreement with the published descriptions of Moapa Gray Ware and Tusayan White Ware; that a few minor corrections, or differences of opinion, could be noted on specific items of Southwestern archaeology. In particular, the Little Colorado-Zuni sequence in Appendix I (page 78) gives erroneous dates — much too early — for certain types, including the important redware type St. Johns Polychrome and probably at least some of the Zuni glazes; and the reverse applies to the last four types listed in the River Hohokam sequence, the accepted dates for which are earlier than shown.

Dr. Colton's painstaking research, stress on detail, and flexible taxonomic approach, as applied to archaeological data in the Flagstaff region, have resulted in establishing a remarkably clear picture in an area that was affected by several distinct, often considerably mixed, cultural groups. Many of the problems involved could never have been resolved if he had not pursued his investigations to their

present state. Southwestern archaeologists are fortunate in having in their midst a specialist like Dr. Colton, who has devoted so much of his energy to these detailed ceramic studies.

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The Four Ages of Tsurai, A Documentary History of the Indian Village on Trinidad Bay, by Robert F. Heizer and John E. Mills. University of California Press, 1952. Pp. 207, pls. 10, figs. 3, 6 maps. \$3.75.

Tsurai was a Yurok village on the northwest coast of California already well established when the first recorded visit of Europeans to Trinidad Bay was made in 1775, and finally abandoned in 1916. Heizer and Mills have presented the long history of this village in four sections: the prehistoric age is represented by the results of archaeological excavations conducted at the site by the University of California in 1949; the period of exploration, from 1775 to 1800, by a series of extracts from the diaries and journals kept by officers of the exploring expeditions; the period of exploitation by the fur traders, from 1800 to 1850, by extracts from the trader's journals; and the period of American Colonization, from the accounts of gold seekers and settlers. There are three figures illustrating archaeological specimens, ten plates showing the village and its environs between 1850 and 1949, and six maps of the site and of the bay. There is an appendix listing Indian place names on Trinidad Bay (after T. T. Waterman), and the notes are also appended at the back of the volume. This latter feature is indicative of the attempt the authors have made throughout the book to make a realistic compromise between the needs of scholarship and the desire for popular readability.

The section on the prehistory of the site is extremely brief, presumably because a full-scale archaeological report is planned for the future. There is a synthesis of the chronological inferences which can be made about the deposits at Tsurai and about three as yet unpublished neighboring sites. An age estimate is made for the site based upon the fact that the deposits which accumulated between 1850 and 1916, the zone in which trade materials of commercial culture origin are abundant, is one-third as thick as the material antedating it. The results indicate that the village was first established about 1620. One carping comment concerning this section: a piece of amethyst glass found in the deposit and identified as having been made at Sandwich is stated

to "probably date from about 1825." This is the date of the founding of the Sandwich glass factory and can be used only as a basement date.

The period of exploration is represented by documents compiled by members of three expeditions: the discovery of the village in 1775 by Hezeta and Bodega is described in five brief diary accounts each of which contains data of ethnographic value. These Spanish documents have been accurately translated by Donald C. Cutter. Vancouver's visit to the bay in 1792 is described by him and by Menzies, the naturalist of the expedition, and there is a short account of the visit by the brigantine *Activo* in 1793.

The three documents dating from the period of the fur trade (in this case actually from 1804 to 1817) are of interest primarily because they demonstrate a deterioration in the relationships between the people of Tsurai and the Europeans. It is clear that the "Boston Men" had very little intellectual interest in the aborigines.

There are six accounts of the village written between 1850 and 1856 when Trinidad Bay was the port for the Trinity River gold miners. The drawings of houses and other features of the village made by J. Goldsborough Bruff in 1851 are excellent and the account of the Indians written by Baron Hans von Loeffelholz and his son, the Baron Karl, between 1850 and 1856 (first published in *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, 23 [1893] 101-123) is a superb example of ethnographic pioneering. This section closes with a brief history of the village in recent times written by the authors and based on professional ethnography.

The notes to the volume are scholarly and pertinent. They have been held to a minimum but do serve to elucidate obscure points in the documents. They contain some unfortunate typographic errors, only one of which cannot be corrected by context: note 32 on page 197 should read "A-frame dip nets," not "X-shaped dip nets."

This contribution is a model example of the way to handle the historical documentation for those archaeological sites which were occupied within the period of exploration and colonization. In the present instance, it serves not only as an ideal introduction to the ultimate description of the archaeology of the village, but it assembles all that is known of the ethnography of the southern Yurok.

The volume is handsomely arranged and printed and is on fine paper—a welcome luxury item in this day of offset printing and flappy covers.

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Salvage Archaeology in the Chama Valley, New Mexico, assembled by *Fred Wendorf*. Monographs of the School of American Research, Number 17. Pp. xiii + 124, pls. xlviii. Santa Fe, New Mexico, 1953. \$6.00.

During the summer months of 1950-51 the Museum of New Mexico, in cooperation with the National Park Service as a part of their River Basin Archaeological Salvage Program, conducted limited excavations at two prehistoric pueblos in the Chama Valley not far from its junction with the Rio Grande. The two sites, Leaf Water Pueblo (LA: 300) and Te'ewi (LA: 252), were within the basin of a proposed flood-control dam. The report is organized in the form of a series of papers by several authors covering environment (Ralph A. Luebbsen and David Brugge), history (Albert H. Schroeder), technical descriptive aspects (Irene Emery and Earl H. Morris), and physical anthropology (Erik K. Reed). The last section describes the human skeletal material from Te'ewi and compares the remains with other Southwestern material, some as yet unpublished in full. The central core of the report, upon which attention is focussed in the review, are the accounts of excavation results and interpretation of this material.

The "Leaf Water" site is described by Ralph A. Luebbsen on the basis of seven weeks' work, which included the clearing of 18 surface rooms and 4 sub-surface structures, as well as limited testing of out-buildings and other adjacent areas. The pueblo was trapezoidal in shape, the longest axis being approximately 60 meters. Rooms, originally reaching in part a height of two stories, were studied on the north, east, and west sides of the central plaza, but the nature of the structure on the south side remains unclear. Two kivas and two pit houses were located both near and beneath the inner pueblo walls, thus antedating in part the maximum extent of construction of the pueblo. The paucity of illustrations of specimens recovered and the absence of precise statistics on ceramic types limit the utility of this section. The pottery types suggest that this pueblo is contemporary with the first portion of the occupation at the other pueblo excavated, Te'ewi. The report on the Leaf Water site is a portion of an M.A. thesis submitted by Luebbsen to the Department of Anthropology, University of New Mexico, where we may assume a more comprehensive treatment of the material may be found.

The report on Te'ewi by Fred Wendorf is based upon a total of 13 weeks' excavation, in which 27 surface rooms, 4 kivas and 10 shrines were totally or partially excavated. Te'ewi was revealed to be a

large double-plaza pueblo arranged to form a square-sided figure "8." Ceramic evidence indicated an occupation for the pueblo of approximately A.D. 1250 to 1500, though tree-ring dates yielded a more restricted range for the construction period (A.D. 1305 to 1445 +). The excavation of one of the kivas provided a dramatic explanation of conditions which may have led to the abandonment of the pueblo. The remains of at least 24 young men as well as 6 small children were found in the burned kiva. The bodies were both on the floor and above the fallen roof layer. Whether they were killed in an enemy raid or simply died struggling to escape from a fire could not be determined with certainty, but the presence of the remains of the very small children is regarded as favoring the possibility of a raid. The descriptive accounts and illustrations of artifactual material in this section are excellent and they are combined with comments on broader distribution and significance.

In both comparative statements and conclusions Wendorf presents concepts of relations and historical development within the Southwestern area and between the Southwest and Plains which will doubtless stimulate further inquiry and discussion. External relations with the Plains area as presented in the report are interesting in detail but appear tenuous and unconvincing in totality. Much stress, for example, is placed upon the resemblance of Potsuwi'i Incised to incised pottery of the Lower Loup and Nebraska Foci of the Plains. The Caddoan area, with which other comparisons had been made, is excluded in this connection because of the presumed scarcity of incised designs, and because incising on Caddoan pots is indicated as being primarily on the rim rather than on the shoulder area as in Potsuwi'i Incised. Actually, however, Wendorf might just as readily have cited Dunkin Incised in the Caddoan area as a parallel and thus kept his suggestions of borrowing within the same region (H. Perry Newell and Alex D. Krieger, *The George C. Davis Site, Cherokee County, Texas*, *Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology*, Number 5, 1949, pp. 109-116). Even so, the case appears to be a thin one. The extent of incised pottery in the Taos area is underestimated. This regional pottery, Taos Incised, in its simplest form suggesting an accentuation of neck-banding patterns (J. A. Jeançon, *Archaeological Investigations in the Taos Valley, New Mexico, During 1920*, *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, Volume 81, Number 12, 1929, Plate 12), evolves into more elaborated patterns which may well be an ancestral form of Potsuwi'i Incised. In this trait, then, we have a perfectly reasonable explanation of local evolution within the Southwest, requiring no

external contacts. Issue might be taken with some of the other positions maintained in the report, but this is remarked less in criticism than in recognition of the fact that a stimulating report may well result in differences of opinion.

Prompt publication of the report is to be commended since, as a report on salvage archaeology, we are dealing with an activity of more than regional interest. Yet the question of the specific objectives of the work are not discussed in this study. Why was it regarded as essential to excavate the two pueblos? What problems did they hope to solve? Were the sampling procedures adequate for the questions raised? The failure to present this basic information, undoubtedly taken into consideration in planning the work, makes it impossible to evaluate the effectiveness of the program and profit by the experience.

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Reports of the University of California Archaeological Survey, No. 22 (Papers on California Archaeology 21-26). Pp. 38, 1 photographic plate, 6 pages of charts and sketches. University of California, Berkeley, June 1953. Mimeographed.

The numbers 21 and 22 were used for the two "Papers on California Archaeology" constituting Report No. 20 of the California University of Archaeological Survey, issued March 16, 1953 ("Gravel Pictographs of the Lower Colorado River Region," by Michael J. Harner, and "Sacred Rain Rocks of Northern California," by Robert F. Heizer). Through oversight the same numbers were assigned to the first two papers in Report No. 22. The intervening Report No. 21 was a single study, "Some Archaeological Sites and Cultures of the Central Sierra Nevada," by Robert F. Heizer and Albert B. Elsasser, UCAS Reports No. 21, Berkeley, Calif., April 20, 1953. Pp. 42, figs. 5, 1 photographic plate, 1 map.

The first item in this issue of the mimeographed series in which research of the Archaeological Survey, University of California, is promptly reported is by Robert F. Heizer, "Sites attributed to early man in California." It lists 45 putatively ancient finds, with a map of the state locating them. Two brief geological-climatological contributions are by Ernst

Antevs, "On division of the last 20,000 years" (Paper No. 22) and "The Postglacial or Neothermal" (Paper 23). The second of these is reprinted from the very important publication by Blackwelder and Antevs, *The Great Basin*, University of Utah Bulletin 38(20), Salt Lake City, 1948. In another recent paper, Dr. Antevs has reviewed in detail the subject of late Quaternary chronologies in North America, though with little direct reference to archaeological material: "Geochronology of the Deglacial and Neothermal ages," *Journal of Geology* 61:195-230 (No. 3, May 1953).

The next two papers report briefly the circumstances of a human burial of moderate antiquity (possibly 4,000 years old), with no accompanying offerings, discovered in 1950: R. F. Heizer and S. F. Cook, "'Capay man,' an ancient Central California Indian burial" (No. 24), and "Report on pedologic observations made at the 'Capay man' site in western Yolo County," by Frank Harradine (No. 25, one page).

The major single paper in the bulletin is "Additional data on the Farmington complex, a stone implement assemblage of probable early Postglacial date from Central California," by A. E. Treganza and R. F. Heizer (Paper No. 26, pp. 28-38, figs. and 1 plate). This recently identified complex is a lithic industry comprising primarily core tools and large reworked percussion flakes: choppers, scraper planes, heavy flake scrapers, and (rare) crude plano-convex blades (see also A. E. Treganza, *Archaeological investigations in the Farmington Reservoir, Stanislaus County, California*, Reports of the University of California Archaeological Survey, No. 14, Berkeley, Calif., 1952, 25 pp., 3 pls., 5 maps; mimeographed).

For general background on "early man" in California, see *Symposium of the Antiquity of Man in California*, Reports of the University of California Archaeological Survey, No. 16, Berkeley, Calif., 1952 (31 pp., 2 charts), which includes: "Introduction," by Walter R. Goldschmidt; "A review of problems in the antiquity of man in California," by Robert F. Heizer; "On the study of early man in southern California," by George W. Brainerd; and "Climatic history and the antiquity of man in California," by Ernst Antevs.

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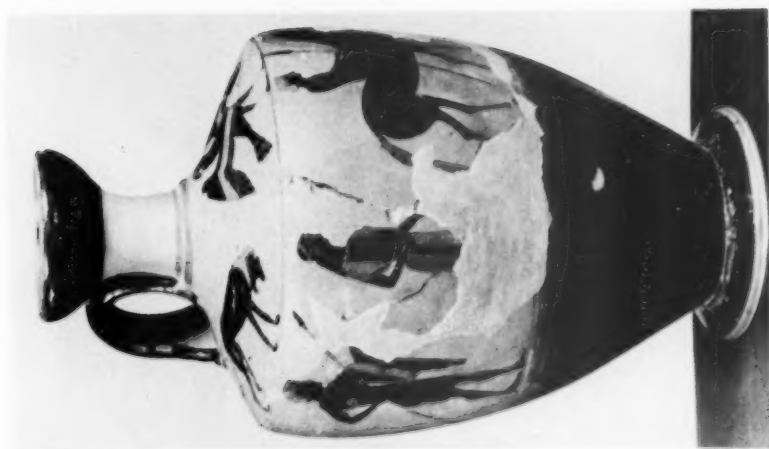
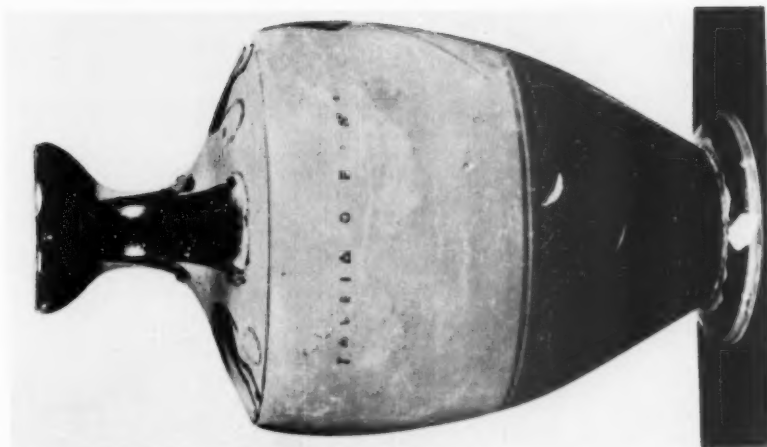


FIG. 1. LEKYTHOS WITH THE NAME OF TALEIDES

(Beazley, pp. 187-190)



FIG. 2. HYDRIA IN MUNICH, 1712 A

(Beazley, pp. 187-190)

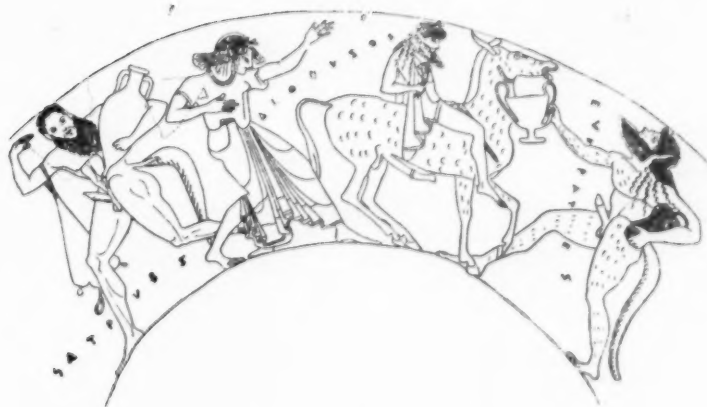
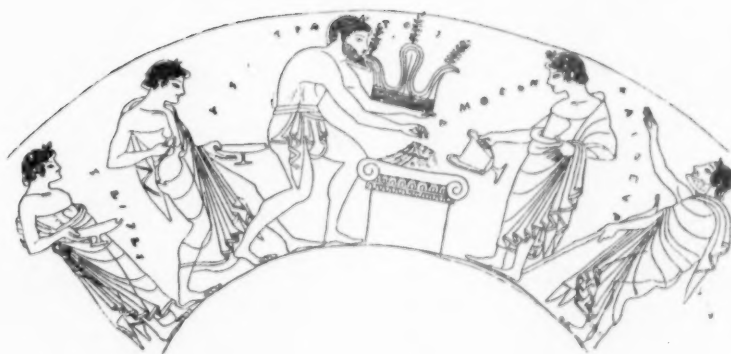


FIG. 3. CUP IN WÜRZBURG, 474

(Beazley, pp. 187-190)

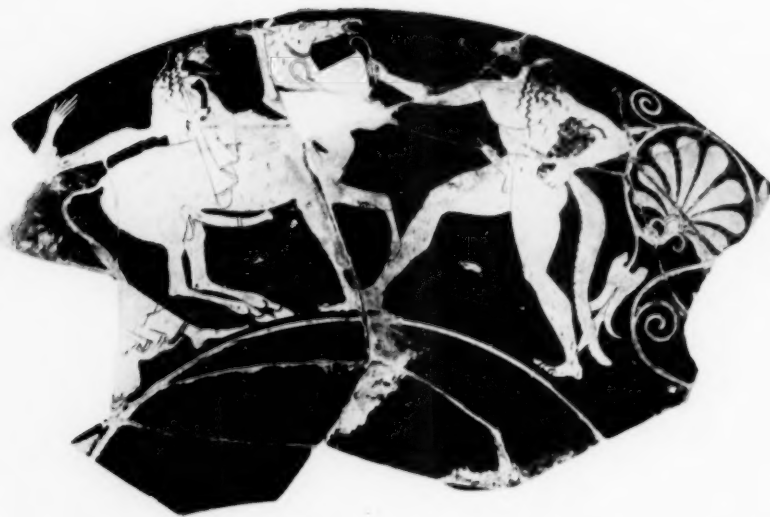


FIG. 4. CUP IN WÜRZBURG, 474



FIG. 5. FRAGMENT IN VILLA GIULIA, 50329

(Beazley, pp. 187-190)



FIG. 1. BOLOGNA 511 (B 1)



FIG. 2. BOLOGNA 554 (I 6)



FIG. 3. BOLOGNA 550 (II 4)



FIG. 4. BOLOGNA 555 (III 3)



FIG. 5. BOLOGNA 553 (I 7)



FIG. 6. BOLOGNA 559 (IV 9)



FIG. 7. BOLOGNA 551 (II 8)



FIG. 8. BOLOGNA 560 (IV 4)



FIG. 9. BOLOGNA 556 (III 4)

FIG. 10. BOLOGNA 558 (IV 3)



FIG. 11. BOLOGNA 515 (VI 9)

FIG. 12. BOLOGNA 512 (VII 7)



FIG. 13. BOLOGNA 511 (B 1)

FIG. 14. BOLOGNA 516 (VI 7)



FIG. 15. BOLOGNA 562 (A 2)



FIG. 16. BOSTON 89.267 (V 4)



FIG. 17. BOSTON 03.828 (VIII 2)



FIG. 18. UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS (VI 2)



FIG. 19. CHICAGO ART INSTITUTE 89.102 (IV 20)

(Howard and Johnson, pp. 191-207)





FIG. 1. PROTCORINTHIAN GORGONEIA



FIG. 2. BOEOTIAN CENTAUR-GORGON AND PERSEUS



FIG. 3. RHODIAN GORGON ARTEMIS



FIG. 4. GORGON FROM CORCYRA

(Howe, pp. 209-221)



FIG. 5. FACE OF HUMBABA



FIG. 6. GILGAMESH SLAYING HUMBABA



FIG. 7. PERSEUS SLAYING MAENADS



FIG. 8. PERSEUS SLAYING SATYRS



FIG. 1. PTOLEMAIC RELIEF, FOGG MUSEUM
"A," HEAD



FIG. 2. PTOLEMAIC RELIEF, FOGG MUSEUM
"B," FOOT



FIG. 5. ASSYRIAN RELIEF, FOGG MUSEUM



FIGS. 3-4. HEAD OF SUMERIAN, FOGG MUSEUM





FIGS. 6-7. ACHAEMENID SILVER DEER, FOGG MUSEUM



FIG. 8. GREEK GEOMETRIC BIRD, FOGG MUSEUM



FIG. 9. GREEK GEOMETRIC HORSE, FOGG MUSEUM



FIG. 11. GREEK RAM'S HEAD, FOGG MUSEUM

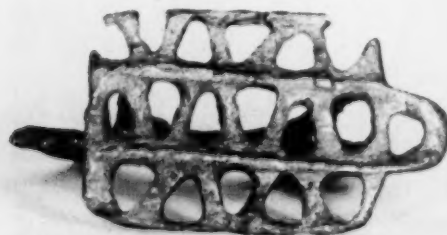
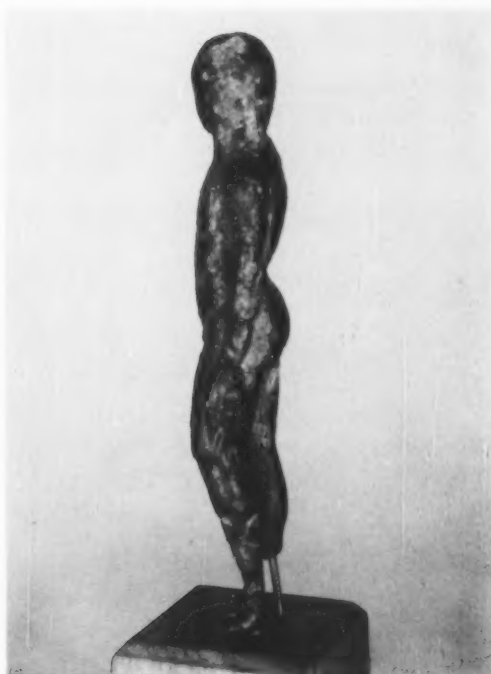


FIG. 10. GREEK GEOMETRIC HORSE, PLATFORM



FRONT



LEFT SIDE

FIGS. 12-13. UNFINISHED GREEK FIGURINE, FOGG MUSEUM



ENTIRE PIECE



DETAIL

FIGS. 14-15. CHEEK GUARD OF A HELMET, FOGG MUSEUM

(Hanfmann, pp. 223-229)



FIG. 16. GRAVE STELE, MUNICH



FIG. 17. HELLENISTIC SATYR?, FOGG MUSEUM, FRONT



FIG. 18. PROFILE OF SATYR?



FIG. 19. BACK OF SATYR? (Photograph N. B. Rodney)



FIG. 20. PTOLEMAIC BRONZE RING,
FOGG MUSEUM

(Hanfmann, pp. 223-229)



FIG. 1. KYLIX BY DOURIS IN THE CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART



FIGS. 2 AND 3. KYLIX BY DOURIS IN THE CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART

(Lee, p. 230)



FIG. 1. ATHENS. GRAVE STELE WITH HEAD OF BOXER.
FROM THE CITY WALLS



FIG. 2. ATHENS. INSCRIBED BASE FROM THE CITY WALLS

(Vanderpool, pp. 231-241)



FIG. 3. NEW CORINTH. VASES FROM A MYCENAEAN CHAMBER TOMB

(Vanderpool, pp. 231-241)



FIG. 4. ISTHMUS OF CORINTH. SKYPHOS
WITH APPLIED RELIEF DECORATION



FIG. 6. ARGOS. GEOMETRIC PITHOS



FIG. 5. ARGOS. BRONZE CUIRASS



FIG. 7. ARGOS. GEOMETRIC KRATER



FIG. 8. TEMPLE AT ARNOKATARAKO, SOUTH OF OLYMPIA
IN THE BACKGROUND THE ALPHEIOS RIVER

(Vanderpool, pp. 231-241)



FIG. 9. KANIA, NEAR OLYMPIA. MYCENAEAN VASES



FIG. 10. PLASTIC VASE FROM AMPHIKLEIA



FIG. 11. GEOMETRIC BROOCH FROM AMPHIKLEIA



FIG. 12. TENOS. SANCTUARY AT XOMBOURGO.
ROOM OF PITHOI AT EXTREME LEFT



FIG. 13. TENOS. NECK OF RELIEF PITHOS

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Tentative date of publication — August 20, 1954.

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